

6 Russian officers charged in hacks

Cyberattacks were some of the world's most damaging, U.S. says

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA
AND DEVLIN BARRETT

The United States on Monday unsealed criminal charges against six Russian intelligence officers in connection with some of the world's most damaging cyberattacks, including disruption of Ukraine's power grid and the release of a mock ransomware virus that infected computers globally and caused billions of dollars in damage.

That group, authorities alleged, also hacked computers supporting the 2018 Winter Olympics in South Korea, hacked and leaked emails of individuals involved in Emmanuel Macron's 2017 campaign for president of France, and targeted the organizations investigating the poisoning of former Russian operative Sergei Skripal two years ago in Britain.

The alleged hackers are members of the same military intelligence agency — the GRU — previously charged in connection with efforts to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign. And one of those charged Monday, 29-year-old Anatoliy Kovalev, was also indicted as part of special counsel Robert S. Mueller III's investigation of the alleged conspiracy to hack American election

SEE RUSSIA ON A9

Big school districts start to open their doors, slowly

BY LAURA MECKLER
AND VALERIE STRAUSS

Large school districts across the country are reopening campuses to students, a slow-moving reversal driven by fear that students are falling behind and early evidence that schools have not become coronavirus super-spreaders as feared.

It's a major shift from the start of the year, when almost every big school system began fully online.

Trepidation about the pandemic persists. In many cities, coronavirus infection rates are rising, which could prompt school leaders to change their plans. Some classrooms and even entire schools have opened and had to close again in response to outbreaks. In some cities, opposition from teachers unions has slowed efforts to open buildings.

But overall, the trend is now toward more in-person school.

Of the 50 biggest school districts, 24 have resumed in-person classes for large groups of students, and 11 others plan to in the coming weeks, according to a Washington Post survey. Four

SEE SCHOOLS ON A22

ELECTION 2020



JOHN RAOUX/ASSOCIATED PRESS



MATT YORK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TOP: Supporters of the Democratic ticket listen as Joe Biden's running mate, Sen. Kamala D. Harris, speaks at a "drive-in" rally in Orlando on Monday, the first day of early voting in Florida. ABOVE: Backers of President Trump await his arrival at a rally in Prescott, Ariz. — one of two he held in the battleground state Monday.

Turkey farmers fear disastrous drop in demand

Smaller Thanksgiving gatherings could leave producers with too many big birds this season

BY LAURA REILEY

It is among Norman Rockwell's most recognized paintings, known alternately as "Freedom from Want" or "The Thanksgiving Picture." The aproned matriarch proffering the burnished bird, extended family leaning in toward chafing dish and wobbly aspic.

This spring, turkey farmers around the country had to roll the dice, take a guess: What would pandemic Thanksgiving look like? Would the holiday be canceled entirely, or would it be the Norman Rockwell grandpa carving en masque?

The coronavirus pandemic will interrupt 50 years of steadily increasing turkey consumption, threatening to change holiday traditions forever. Social distancing and travel challenges will mean more smaller holiday gatherings this November — thus smaller home-cooked turkeys on the table, fewer holiday restaurant reservations and, in an increasing number of households, no turkey at all.

The shift in demand for this most seasonal of commercial animal proteins is causing havoc for turkey farmers, processors and

SEE TURKEYS ON A26



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Drew Bowman stands in the pasture at Bowman & Landes Turkeys in New Carlisle, Ohio, on Sept. 18. The small-business owner is worried about unpredictable shifts in turkey demand.

Distrust, lethargy worsening within virus task force

KEY TRUMP AIDE SIDELINES OTHER DOCTORS

Infighting troubles experts as they project new surge

BY YASMEEN ABUTALEB,
PHILIP RUCKER,
JOSH DAWSEY
AND ROBERT COSTA

As summer faded into autumn and the novel coronavirus continued to ravage the nation unabated, Scott Atlas, a neuroradiologist whose commentary on Fox News led President Trump to recruit him to the White House, consolidated his power over the government's pandemic response.

Atlas shot down attempts to expand testing. He openly feuded with other doctors on the coronavirus task force and succeeded in largely sidelining them. He advanced fringe theories, such as

that social distancing and mask-wearing were meaningless and would not have changed the course of the virus in several hard-hit areas. And he advocated allowing infections to spread naturally among most of the population while protecting the most vulnerable and those in nursing homes until the United States reaches herd immunity, which experts say would cause excess deaths, according to three current and former senior administration officials.

Atlas also cultivated Trump's affection with his public assertions that the pandemic is nearly over, despite death and infection

SEE TASK FORCE ON A10

Trump: People tired of 'Fauci and all these idiots'

BY MICHAEL SCHERER
AND JOSH DAWSEY

President Trump dismissed precautions to prevent the spread of the novel coronavirus and attacked the nation's top infectious-disease expert as a "disaster" Monday, arguing that people are getting tired of all the focus on a pandemic that has killed more than 219,000 Americans and continues to infect thousands of people in communities across the country.

The president claimed that voters do not want to hear more from the country's scientific leaders about the pandemic, responding angrily to a critical interview Sun-

day night with CBS's "60 Minutes" by Anthony S. Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

"People are tired of hearing Fauci and all these idiots," Trump said in a call with his campaign staff Monday that was intended to instill confidence in his reelection bid two weeks before Election Day. He baselessly suggested that Fauci's advice on how best to respond to the outbreak was so bad

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Senate races: Republicans face a tricky balancing act on Trump. **A4**

Big Sky red and blue: Montana's independent streak is tested. **A8**

Justices allow extended deadline for Pa. ballots

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court on Monday night allowed Pennsylvania election officials to count mail-in ballots received up to three days after Election Day, refusing a Republican request to stop a pandemic-related procedure approved by the state's highest court.

The justices' action involved an arcane voting practice but carried outsized importance because of Pennsylvania's pivotal role in the presidential election. It prompted a fierce battle between the state's Democrats and Republicans.

It also showed a precariously balanced Supreme Court, which has only eight members after the death last month of Justice Ruth

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IN THE NEWS



ERICA YOON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

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Digitally savvy anti-government protesters

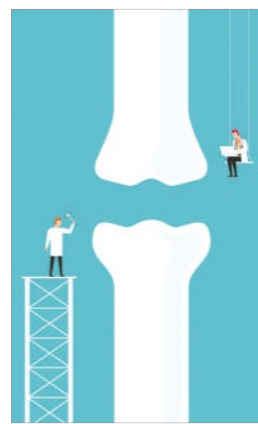
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Oh, those aching joints

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HAPPENING TODAY

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8:30 a.m. | The Commerce Department issues housing starts for September, with an expected rate of 1.451 million, up from 1.416 million in August. Visit [washingtonpost.com/business](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business) for details.

1 p.m. | Chad Wolf, acting homeland security secretary, participates in a virtual Heritage Foundation event titled “The State of the Wall and Immigration.” For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/politics](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics).

7 p.m. | President Trump holds a campaign rally in Erie, Pa. Visit [washingtonpost.com/politics](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics) for details.

8:09 p.m. | The Tampa Bay Rays and Los Angeles Dodgers play in Game 1 of Major League Baseball’s 2020 World Series in Arlington, Tex. Follow the action at [postsports.com](https://www.postsports.com).

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Justices to hear 2 cases on immigration policy

Challenges to Trump’s ‘Remain in Mexico’ initiative, wall funding

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court on Monday said it would take up two challenges to President Trump’s immigration initiatives: his diversion of military funds to pay for construction of the southern border wall, and a policy that has required tens of thousands of asylum seekers to remain in Mexico while their claims are processed.

The Trump administration had asked the court to intervene in both because of decisions against it in lower courts. Also in both cases, the justices have previously allowed the administration to proceed with its plans while the merits of the issues were litigated.

The cases will not be heard until next year, so a change in administrations after next month’s election could alter the legal landscape or even make the court’s consideration unnecessary.

In July, the court rejected a last-ditch effort from environmentalists to stop ongoing construction of parts of the border wall. The previous month, a panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled that it was unlawful for the administration to use funds intended for the Defense Department on the wall instead.

By the time the court hears the case, say lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union, which is representing the Sierra Club and the Southern Border Communities Coalition, the Trump administration will have used all the money.

But the administration told the court it was important for it to weigh in to correct the decision that the president did not have the authority to redirect military funds.

Trump, who ran for office in 2016 promising that Mexico would pay for his plans to expand the border wall, has obtained more than \$15 billion in federal funds for his signature project, including \$5 billion provided by Congress through conventional appropriations. The president has tapped into Pentagon accounts for the remaining \$10 billion, including the \$2.5 billion transfer last year that the 9th Circuit said was unlawful.

In 2019, the Supreme Court in an emergency order allowed the administration to proceed with the transfers and contracts for construction, even though House Democrats, affected states and environmental groups said that violated the will of Congress, which withheld the funds from the administration.



ABOVE: Border Patrol Agent Anthony Garcia poses in August 2019 at a site in Calexico, Calif., where a new border wall is replacing old fencing.



PHOTOS BY CAROLYN VAN HOUTEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

LEFT: Migrant families from Central America use mylar blankets to stay warm as they wait in El Paso in February 2019 to be processed by Border Patrol agents and taken to a holding facility. Many of the migrants were seeking asylum.

tion.

As a practical matter, much of the \$2.5 billion has been spent, and the portions of the wall funded by it have been built. As of this summer, about 40 miles of two projects in New Mexico and Arizona had yet to be completed.

In allowing the administration to proceed, the Supreme Court’s conservative majority said the government had “made a sufficient showing at this stage” that private entities could not challenge the transfer of money by the executive branch.

But all of the lower courts that have heard the dispute have disagreed, with the 9th Circuit panel’s merits decision this summer affirming the ruling of a district judge.

“It is for the courts to enforce Congress’s priorities,” the panel said in a 2-to-1 decision, and it found that the Sierra Club “may invoke separation-of-powers constraints, like the Appropriations Clause, to challenge agency spending in excess of its delegated authority.”

In its brief, the ACLU said: “It could not be plainer that Congress rejected President Trump’s funding request for the wall construction in dispute here. The president himself conceded that Congress turned him down.”

In the other case, the court in March granted the Trump administration’s emergency request to let it enforce its Migrant Protection Protocols, also known as the “Remain in Mexico” policy. It allows the Department of Homeland Security to return immigrants who cross at the southern border to Mexico while they wait for their claims to be heard.

The protocol, which took effect in January 2019, was a fundamental change to previous U.S. policy and was intended to protect against massive migration from Central America.

A federal judge blocked the initiative with a nationwide injunction, saying the policy contradicted the text of the Immigration and Nationality Act. A 9th Circuit panel upheld part of the ruling.

Challengers have said that restrictions put in place because of the coronavirus pandemic make the Supreme Court’s review of the lower-court rulings unnecessary at this time.

Moreover, they said the policy is hurtful.

“Asylum seekers face grave danger every day this illegal and depraved policy is in effect,” said Judy Rabinovitz, a lawyer for the ACLU, one of the groups challenging the policy. “The courts have repeatedly ruled against it, and the Supreme Court should as well.”

A spokesman for the asylum officers’ union said Monday that they are anxiously awaiting a Supreme Court ruling in the case and are worried about the thousands of people spirited away from the border to potential danger.

“The law is that people who knock at our door or who cross our border, whether legally or illegally, have the right to have their asylum case heard in safety,” said Michael Knowles, an asylum officer and a spokesman for the union. “They should not be returned somewhere they would be in danger. That’s fundamental to the law.”

Since last spring, the Trump administration has implemented emergency pandemic restrictions along the southwestern border that allow agents to “expel” most migrants back to Mexico in a matter of hours.

But after an initial drop in border crossings, arrests have been steadily rising, driven mostly by Mexican adults trying to enter the United States again and again.

The number of migrants whom U.S. border agents took into custody rose to a 13-month high in September, according to U.S. Customs and Border Protection figures.

The border wall case is *Trump v. Sierra Club*, and the immigration case is *Wolf v. Innovation Law Lab*.

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Nick Miroff and Maria Sacchetti contributed to this report.

POLITICS & THE NATION

Justice Dept.: Trump denial of rape claim part of his job

Filing comes ahead of court hearing in writer’s defamation suit

BY DEVLIN BARRETT

Justice Department lawyers argue they can and should defend President Trump in a defamation lawsuit brought by a woman who claims he sexually assaulted her decades ago, according to a government filing Monday in advance of a court hearing on the issue set for this week.

The case arose out of a memoir by E. Jean Carroll, a former *Elle* magazine columnist who accused Trump of raping her in a dressing room at the Bergdorf Goodman department store in Manhattan during the mid-1990s. He denied it, calling her a liar and “not my type,” after which she sued him for defamation.

Last month, the Justice Department sought to intervene in the case, arguing that the Federal Tort Claims Act means the government, not the president personally, should be the defendant in the defamation case. The FTCA gives elected officials wide latitude to avoid lawsuits over their public statements, and if the Justice Department wins that argument in court, Carroll’s suit would probably be dismissed.

Carroll’s lawyers have argued that the Justice Department’s legal argument is “inconceivable” be-



E. Jean Carroll, a former *Elle* magazine columnist, has accused President Trump of raping her in the dressing room of a department store in Manhattan during the mid-1990s. He called her a liar and “not my type”; she then sued him for defamation.

cause no American, not even the president, has a job description that “includes slandering women who they sexually assaulted.”

The Justice Department’s intervention was viewed by critics of the decision as an attempt by Attorney General William P. Barr to protect the president. Barr has defended his department’s involvement, saying the case law is clear and any outrage is a byproduct of the country’s “bizarre political environment.”

In the 22-page filing Monday, Justice Department lawyers said Carroll’s argument misses the point because past court cases have concluded that any public statements that reflect on the character and trustworthiness of a public official fall under the law.

Because Carroll’s accusation calls into question “the President’s fitness for office,” the Justice Department lawyers argue, “a response was necessary for the President to effectively govern.”

Noting that one member of Congress said Carroll’s allegation showed Trump was unfit to be president, the Justice Department filing argues that under such circumstances, Trump’s response was within his official duties and “directly relevant to his role as President and leader of the Executive Branch — and more generally is a necessary part of a Federal elected official’s job.”

U.S. District Judge Lewis Kaplan is scheduled to hold a hearing in the case Wednesday in federal court in New York.

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DIGEST

OKLAHOMA
Excavation resumes for massacre victims

Excavation work began Monday at two locations in a Tulsa cemetery for victims of a race massacre nearly 100 years ago that left hundreds dead and decimated an area that was once a cultural and economic hub for Black people.

Researchers took a core soil sample at one location to give them a better idea of what lies beneath the soil, said Oklahoma State Archaeologist Kary Stackelbeck. “That will help narrow the focus for the heavier machinery,” Stackelbeck added.

Both areas of interest are in Oaklawn Cemetery in north Tulsa, where a search for remains of victims ended without success in July, and near the Greenwood District where the massacre happened.

Stackelbeck noted that researchers have a “high level of confidence” some remains will be found in an area known as the Original 18, where old funeral home records indicate that up to 18 Black people who were massacre victims were buried.

The latest search is expected

to continue for the rest of the week, Stackelbeck said.

The violence took place on May 31 and June 1 in 1921, when a White mob attacked Tulsa’s Black Wall Street, killing an estimated 300 people and wounding 800 more while robbing and burning businesses, homes and churches.

— *Associated Press*

UTAH
Woman rescued after vanishing in Zion

A California woman who was missing for about two weeks in Zion National Park in Utah has been found and has left the park with her family, who had feared the worst, authorities said.

Holly Suzanne Courtier, 38, of Los Angeles, was found Sunday by search-and-rescue crews after park rangers received a tip that she had been seen in the park, park officials said in a news release. They did not say where she was found, or discuss her condition or what had happened.

Crews began searching for Courtier after she didn’t show up for her scheduled pickup in the park by a private shuttle on Oct. 6, authorities said.



The Cameron Peak Fire, the largest wildfire in Colorado history, burns in Drake on Saturday. The blaze has torched more than 200,000 acres in a state that is experiencing an extreme drought.

Tsunami Warning Center. The warning was downgraded to an advisory just over two hours after the quake.

The earthquake struck in the North Pacific Ocean just before 1 p.m. local time. It was centered about 67 miles southeast of Sand Point, according to the Alaska Earthquake Center. The community is about 800 miles southwest of Anchorage. The quake was recorded at a depth of 19 miles.

The quake was felt widely in communities along the southern coast, including Sand Point, Chignik, Unalaska and the Kenai Peninsula, according to the Alaska Earthquake Center, which said a magnitude 5.2 aftershock was reported 11 minutes later, centered approximately in the same area.

— *Associated Press*

Her sister Jillian Courtier-Oliver told ABC’s “Good Morning America” that her sister is recovering. The park is known for its towering red rock cliffs that has several hikes that take people along narrow trails with steep drops nearby.

— *Associated Press*

ALASKA
Large earthquake prompts tsunami fears

A magnitude 7.5 earthquake prompted a tsunami warning Monday for a nearly thousand-mile stretch of Alaska’s southern

coast, with waves over two feet at the nearest community as the threat subsided.

The quake was centered near Sand Point, a city of about 900 people off the Alaska Peninsula where wave levels late Monday topped two feet, according to the National

Jeff Bridges says he has lymphoma: Jeff Bridges is being treated for lymphoma and his prognosis is good, the 70-year-old actor announced in a statement on social media late Monday. He expressed gratitude to his family, friends and medical team and promised to keep fans posted on his recovery.

— *From news services*

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✦ ELECTION 2020

GOP Senate incumbents face vexing challenge in Trump

Endangered Republicans must please president's supporters and skeptics

BY PAUL KANE

Joni Ernst burst into national political stardom six years ago when she easily beat a cadre of more experienced rivals in a crowded Iowa race for the Senate by telling voters she grew up on a farm castrating hogs and would “make ‘em squeal” when she got to Washington.

So it was a jarring scene when Ernst (R), now running for reelection, beamed into a virtual candidates debate last week from a studio a few blocks from the Capitol. Not only had the onetime Washington outsider established herself as a member of the GOP leadership and a frequent defender of the incumbent president, but this self-styled child of Iowa farm life appeared stumped when asked what many Iowa politicians consider a rite-of-passage question: the price of soybeans.

Democrats could not contain their glee.

“Sen. Ernst has had six years, and she’s forgotten Iowans,” said Theresa Greenfield, Ernst’s Democratic opponent, who has turned the tables on Ernst by accusing the incumbent of going native in Washington and embracing a range of unpopular Trump administration policies.

In competitive Senate races across the country, including states where Trump remains popular, Republican incumbents are facing a conundrum: how to prove their pro-Trump bona fides to a MAGA movement that sees many longtime Republicans as insufficiently pure while stopping the hemorrhaging among suburban moderates who wonder why they have enabled the president.

The result for Ernst and as many as a half-dozen of her GOP colleagues may be the worst of both worlds, in which they risk alienating energized Trump backers if they criticize the president but then, if they stick with him, lose some centrist voters who have soured on Trump and are open to voting for a Democrat.

Several of these Republicans are losing, or clinging to narrow leads, but almost all of them are performing just slightly worse than Trump, based on averages of polls dating back to Sept. 20 that measure support in Senate races and the presidential contest. How



GREG NASH/BLOOMBERG NEWS

Republican Sen. Joni Ernst of Iowa speaks at last week’s Supreme Court hearings. When she appeared stumped during a campaign debate on a question about the price of soybeans, Democrats were gleeful.

each candidate navigates the dynamic over the next two weeks could determine whether the Republicans hold on to the 53-47 majority that has, among other things, served as a critical defender of the Trump presidency and helped transform the nation’s federal courts into a far more conservative branch of government.

In North Carolina, for example, both Trump and Sen. Thom Tillis (R) are narrowly trailing their opponents, but the president has 45 percent support and Tillis has 41 percent, according to The Washington Post’s average of recent public polling.

Ernst and Trump are both narrowly losing in Iowa, but Trump pulls 46 percent to Ernst’s 44 percent, according to the polling averages.

In Georgia, Trump and Joe Biden are neck and neck, 48 percent to 46 percent, while Sen. David Perdue (R) has a narrow three-point edge. But the GOP incumbent’s average support is 46 percent, leading many strategists in both parties to predict that he will not reach the 50-percent-plus-one threshold needed to win a Senate race outright and will end up in a runoff against Democrat Jon Ossoff in early January.

Perdue appeared to be trying to excite the Trump base Friday night when he attended a rally with the president in rural central Georgia and intentionally mispronounced the first name of

Biden’s running mate, Sen. Kamala D. Harris (Calif.), his colleague of nearly four years who would be the first Black vice president if their ticket wins.

He drew cheers from the mostly White crowd, while Ossoff immediately called it a racist tactic and raised more than \$1 million online in the 24 hours following the speech.

Another Republican in a surprisingly competitive race, Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas), explained the situation facing incumbents in an interview Friday with the editorial board of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, likening GOP senators to women who think their boyfriends will change if they get married. The Post’s average shows Cornyn ahead of the Democrat, MJ Hegar, by eight points, twice the size of Trump’s four-point lead over Biden.

His relationship with Trump is “maybe like a lot of women who get married and think they’re going to change their spouse, and that doesn’t usually work out very well,” Cornyn told the newspaper.

“We’re not going to change President Trump. He is who he is. You either love him or hate him, and there’s not much in between,” he continued.

Public disputes with Trump usually lead to the president attacking those Republicans, causing a drop in support from his most fervent backers.

Cornyn believes GOP senators should do what he does when he has “differences of opinion” with

Trump: “Do that privately.”

While there have been a few minor suggestions of incumbents trying to separate themselves from Trump, one GOP consultant privately dismissed that as a “fever dream” of Washington pundits. Instead, most incumbents are publicly tethering themselves to Trump in the hope that they can win over those last remaining pro-Trump voters to eke out victories next month.

In South Carolina, 79 percent of likely Republican voters had a “very favorable” view of Trump, but 54 percent hold Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) in such high regard, according to a New York Times-Siena poll released Thursday. Graham’s opponent, Jaime Harrison, has pulled the race into a toss-up and is now spending from his massive war chest to encourage Trump voters to select a little-known third party conservative on the ballot instead of Graham.

After chairing the confirmation hearings for Judge Amy Coney Barrett, Graham told reporters that his vocal support for Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh’s 2018 confirmation gave Harrison a “national profile” because it made Graham a target for liberals everywhere, but that he intended to remain staunchly behind Trump.

“That made some people pretty upset on the left and I’ve been helping President Trump, but I trust the people of South Carolina to get it right,” he said Thursday.

Those who have sought distance from the president pay a price.

Trump on Friday launched into a Twitter tirade against Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine), who has said she will not support any Supreme Court nominee until voters have spoken in the election.

Collins, first elected in 1996, is the rare Senate Republican on the ballot who has built her own brand and is running ahead of the president in her state. But Trump still maintains majority support in rural northern Maine, and any slippage for Collins among those voters would probably doom her chances in her race against Democrat Sara Gideon, in which she is trailing slightly.

Ernst, Perdue and others facing their first reelection bid face the toughest challenge for Republicans: trying to remind voters of their original outsider status, as Democrats accuse them of being Washington insiders.

“I will always fight for our farmers, because I grew up on a small Iowa farm. I will always fight for our veterans, because I have had my boots in that sand and I understand their valiant sacrifice,” Ernst said during the debate, reminding voters that she did a tour of duty in Iraq as part of Iowa’s Army National Guard.

In her campaign announcement video, Greenfield, a relative political newcomer who has worked in real estate development and urban planning, never once mentioned Trump. The president won the state by nine points in 2016 and is in a close battle with Biden there now. Greenfield’s campaign knew she would probably need some number of Trump-Greenfield voters to defeat Ernst.

Instead, the video showed images of Ernst standing next to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) at one of his weekly leadership news conferences. It even included a clip of Ernst’s famous “make ‘em squeal” 2014 commercial, turning it against her.

“Listen folks, she didn’t castrate anyone. She cast a vote to let the corporate lobbyists keep feasting like hogs at the trough,” Greenfield said in the video.

Ernst became a star in a caucus that has been starved for stand-out female conservatives for several decades now. McConnell chose her to deliver the GOP’s response to President Barack Obama’s 2015 State of the Union address, less than three weeks after she was sworn in as a senator.

When McConnell needed to put women on the Judiciary Committee — after his all-male lineup struggled with how to handle sexual misconduct allegations against Kavanaugh — he tapped Ernst to join the panel. That’s why Ernst appeared from Washington for the debate, having spent the week inside Barrett’s hearing room and not in Iowa.

After more than eight years of an all-male team of elected leaders, McConnell persuaded Ernst to run for a junior leadership post, and she won without any opposition.

Republicans believe Ernst still has enough personality to run ahead of the president in Iowa, and she is focusing on the tens of millions in outside “dark money” that Democrats are pouring into the state to turn the tables on Greenfield.

She calls the Democrat “Iowa’s leading benefactor” of these special interest benefits, with Ernst saying the donations should be disclosed.

“If you force those donors to disclose who they are donating to, to what organization, I can guarantee you the whole system would clean up quickly,” Ernst said during the debate. She defended her mix-up on the soybean price because she could not hear the moderator because of the technical difficulties that mired portions of the debate.

Ernst, however, faces a huge funding disparity with the Democrat in terms of the dollars each candidate can spend.

She raised \$7 million for the third quarter, ending Sept. 30, which used to be considered a large sum. Greenfield has tapped into the anti-Trump liberal online world and brought in nearly \$29 million, a jaw-dropping amount for the state.

In the final five weeks of the campaign, Greenfield is slated to spend more than five times as much as Ernst on the Iowa airwaves, according to GOP estimates.

And Greenfield plans to keep returning to the same message, over and over, that Ernst has changed in Washington, trying to drive a wedge between the incumbent and those die-hard Trump supporters who still want someone to make Washington squeal.

“I’ll never forget who I am,” Greenfield said in her closing debate remarks, “where I’m from and who I’m fighting for.”

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Polling analyst Emily Guskin contributed to this report.

Misinformation is spreading online. Enter Joe Biden’s ‘Malarkey Factory.’

BY MATT VISER

Joe Biden’s campaign has quietly built a multimillion-dollar operation over the past two months that’s largely designed to combat misinformation online, aiming to rebut President Trump while bracing for any information warfare that could take place in the aftermath of the election.

The effort, internally called the “Malarkey Factory,” consists of dozens of people around the country monitoring what information is gaining traction digitally, whether it’s resonating with swing voters and, if so, how to fight back. The three most salient attacks the Malarkey Factory has confronted so far are claims that Biden is a socialist, that he is “creepy” and that he is “sleepy” or senile.

In preparation for misinformation spreading as voters head to the polls, especially a stretch around Election Day when Facebook will not let campaigns buy new ads, the campaign has partnered with dozens of Facebook pages associated with liberal individuals or groups that have large followings. The campaign has also enlisted 5,000 surrogates with big social media platforms who can pump out campaign messages.

The Malarkey Factory has already been at work. When Trump began attacking Biden as a socialist, for example, the Biden campaign saw that it was affecting Hispanic voters in Florida. So it developed counter-messaging that showed a different image of Biden, with him speaking of his love for America and being endorsed by former president Barack Obama, and the campaign blasted the messaging to Latinos in the state.

“Our theory of the case has been that we need to find and identify the misinformation that is actually moving voters, even if it is a small number of voters, then

find who those voters are and see if we can intervene,” said Rob Flaherty, the campaign’s digital director and head of the Malarkey Factory. “There’s misinformation that inflames a base. There’s misinformation that persuades people. And there’s misinformation that suppresses a base.”

While it is increasingly easy to determine where misinformation is coming from, given the proliferation of online tools, the trickier challenge is figuring out whether it’s shaping voting behavior and merits a response.

“The real dilemma of misinformation, from a campaign perspective, is that in the vast majority of cases, the correct tactical thing to do is nothing,” said Matthew Hindman, an associate professor at George Washington University who co-wrote a study on misinformation during the 2018 midterms. “There is a very real risk that you will take a nothing story that nobody has heard of and raise its prominence and give it oxygen.”

And given the speed of social media, that decision often has to be made within minutes.

When a conspiracy theory emerged that Osama bin Laden was never really killed — and Biden and Obama had Navy SEALs executed to cover that up — Biden’s campaign felt little need to respond. The deeply implausible fabrication might affect some potential Trump voters, Biden staffers concluded, but would not affect the types of voters they were trying to attract.

The campaign also found that Trump’s attack on Biden’s criminal justice record was not resonating with the Black voters prized by Biden’s campaign. His attacks on Biden’s mental acuity, however, were hitting home, so the campaign sent videos to targeted voters showing their candidate talking clearly and articulately.

“They are seeing this stream of poorly edited clips of him falling



MARK MAKELA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Biden campaign staffers work in Easton, Pa., on Oct. 10. Some staffers are closely monitoring online claims about the candidate.

asleep at a news interview — things that are just not real,” Flaherty said. “When we show them him talking about policy, which he does all the time, [support goes] up.”

This sort of elaborate virtual war room, tasked with ferreting out volatile information in the dark recesses of the Web, could become a routine feature of campaigns as they confront a still new world of elusive but potentially destructive information.

In this case, the effort is also a reflection of the trauma Democrats are still experiencing from the last presidential election, when Hillary Clinton’s campaign was hit by a wave of misinformation and hacking for which, in retrospect, it was woefully unprepared.

The Biden effort, which advisers describe as costing more than \$10 million, also coincides with an unprecedented campaign that the coronavirus pandemic has forced almost entirely online. And it comes as intelligence officials warn of foreign interference in the election, with Russia again seen as a major threat to spread

falsehoods.

The project started in August when the Biden campaign assembled groups inside and outside the campaign, tapping campaign staffers working remotely in places such as Washington, D.C.; Portland, Maine; and Long Island, as well as an array of marketing and tech firms in Silicon Valley.

Trump’s team had been extraordinarily successful at harnessing social media, using Facebook to mobilize its base and running a network of social media platforms that dwarf those of the Biden campaign.

That operation was largely built by Brad Parscale, the former Trump campaign manager who was ousted earlier this year. Parscale famously called his digital operation the Death Star, a reference to the planet-sized weapon in Star Wars. (The Biden team has started calling its own network the Rebel Alliance, after the warriors who fought back.)

Trump regularly spreads falsehoods — such as the notion that Biden is on performance-enhancing drugs or that top Democrats committed treason — which are

amplified by his supporters online. But Trump campaign spokesman Tim Murtaugh contended that it’s the Biden team that is the guiltier party.

“If the Biden campaign wants to clean up misinformation, they should start with themselves,” Murtaugh said.

He cited Biden’s claims that Trump has embraced white supremacists, called the novel coronavirus a hoax and signaled a plan to dismantle Social Security; the last two have been challenged by fact-checkers. “The entire foundation of the Biden campaign is built on lies, so they should police themselves,” Murtaugh said.

A chief question of the 2020 campaign has been whether Biden can match the massive digital megaphone of Trump and his supporters. Allies have sought to amplify a report in the New York Post, for example, which published emails purported to be from a laptop belonging to Biden’s son Hunter. The origin of that information remains unclear.

Sometimes, the attacks are fantastical. During a town hall last week, Trump declined to condemn QAnon, a baseless conspiracy theory claiming there is a cabal of satanic, cannibalistic pedophiles that includes prominent Democrats, which has spread rapidly online.

While most of the effort is aimed at combating misinformation, the Malarkey Factory is also attempting to persuade undecided voters. It has run a program in Pennsylvania and is about to do the same in Michigan, for example, that gathers videos recorded by voters on why they support Biden. The campaign tests the videos on thousands of people and, based on the results, forwards specific clips to particular groups of voters.

The campaign has also teamed up with users on TikTok, the enormously popular platform featuring super-short videos, to spread

Biden’s message.

And on Friday, Biden opened a virtual field office in “Animal Crossing: New Horizons,” part of a Biden island in the virtual world that has ice cream stands, model trains and campaign merchandise.

Thomas Rid, author of “Active Measures,” a book about disinformation, said that hack-and-leak operations, which disclose confidential information, can be even more effective than spreading complete falsehoods.

“We are all focused on the social media disinformation side, which is not unimportant,” Rid said. “But it’s the potential for hacks and leaks or forging — or infrastructure hacking, or perceived election infrastructure hacking, on or before Election Day — that have a bigger impact.”

The Biden team says that among its biggest concerns is a potential effort to raise doubts about the integrity of the vote on Nov. 3 and its aftermath.

“Trust in the election is something that we are focused on,” said Rebecca Rinkevich, the Biden campaign’s director of digital rapid response. “Right now, it’s super localized to far-right folks, but it’s something that we have every intention of focusing this program on, especially in the week leading up to the election.”

The Biden campaign is contemplating scenarios in which Trump tries to declare victory before all the votes are counted, or in which he loses but refuses to leave office.

In such a situation, the campaign would use its network to push out messages saying that Biden legitimately prevailed, using the same technology that Major League Baseball employs to send content between the league and individual teams.

“This is all part of the new environment,” Hindman said. “It’s part of the playing field, and it’s not going away.”

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BY AMY GARDNER,
MICHAEL MAJCHROWICZ
AND LORI ROZSA

In North Carolina, a weeks-long dispute over mail ballots returned without a witness signature came to an end Monday, allowing county election administrators to resume the process to fix, or "cure," thousands of deficient ballots left



People line up at the North Miami Public Library polling station as in-person voting begins in Miami on Monday. Nearly 30 million Americans have already voted with two weeks to go before Election Day. **🗳️ Visit wapo.st/Voting2020 to learn about key voting terms.**

A voter certification will serve to correct other ballot problems, such as a missing voter signature

Separately, the Supreme Court Monday night allowed Pennsylva-

It was too early to say whether the first day of in-person voting would favor Democrats or Republicans. In other states where such data is available, enthusiasm has

In Pinellas County, home of Clearwater and St. Petersburg,

"I was really motivated to get here and get my ballot in," said Robbie Martinez, 46, a journeyman electrician, after dropping his ballot into a dropbox in downtown Denver. "I have never liked Trump. I couldn't even believe he became president. It's been a circus."

Majchrowicz reported from Fort Lauderdale. Rozsa reported from West Palm Beach. Elise Viebeck in Washington, Craig Pittman in Sarasota and Jennifer Oldham in Denver contributed to this report.

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✪ ELECTION 2020

CDC strongly recommends mask use on public transit

BY LENA H. SUN, MICHAEL LARIS AND LORI ARATANI

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on Monday strongly recommended in newly issued guidelines that all passengers and workers on planes, trains, buses and other public transportation wear masks to control the spread of the novel coronavirus.

The guidance was issued following pressure from the airline industry and amid surging cases of the coronavirus and strong evidence on the effectiveness of masks in curbing transmission, according to CDC officials.

The recommendations fall short of what transportation industry leaders and unions had sought, and come long after evidence in favor of mask-wearing was well established.

The CDC had previously drafted an order under the agency's quarantine powers that would have required all passengers and employees to wear masks on all forms of public transportation, according to a CDC official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations. Such orders typically carry penalties. The order was blocked by the White House, the official said. It was first reported by the New York Times.

Monday's recommendation followed a request from Vice President Pence to CDC Director Robert Redfield, CDC officials said. Although the agency already

recommends the use of masks generally, the new language is more strongly worded and gives the airline industry more cover to press for mask-wearing, one CDC official said.

In a statement Monday, the agency said "transmission of the virus through travel has led to — and continues to lead to — interstate and international spread of the virus." It added: "Local transmission can grow quickly into interstate and international transmission when infected persons travel on public conveyances without wearing a mask and with others who are not wearing masks."

Traveling on airplanes, ships, ferries, trains, subways, buses, taxis, ride-shares and in locations such as airports, train stations, and bus or ferry terminals increases the risk of getting and spreading covid-19, the disease caused by the virus. That can happen because people are brought into close contact with others, often for prolonged periods, and because they can be exposed to frequently touched surfaces, the CDC guidance says.

"Face masks help prevent people who have COVID-19, including those who are pre-symptomatic or asymptomatic, from spreading the virus to others," the CDC guidelines say. "Masks are most likely to reduce the spread of COVID-19 when they are widely used by people in public settings."

The recommendations from the CDC come at a time when



MICHAEL NAGLE/BLOOMBERG NEWS

Subway passengers wear masks in New York City on Sept. 21. New guidance issued Monday by the CDC said all passengers and workers should don masks when taking most forms of public transportation.

infection rates are rising in the United States and President Trump's favored pandemic adviser, Scott Atlas, has railed against masks, falsely claiming they are ineffective. On Saturday, Atlas wrote on Twitter that masks do not work, prompting the social media site to remove the tweet for violating its safety rules for spreading misinformation. Several medical and public-health experts flagged the tweet as dangerous misinformation.

Numerous studies have shown the effectiveness of masks in preventing transmission. Before a mandatory mask regimen was put in place this spring at Mass General Brigham, the largest health-care system in Massachu-

setts, covid-19 cases were increasing exponentially among medical workers, according to a research letter published in JAMA. After the mask rule was imposed, cases steadily declined.

Trump has cast doubt on the efficacy of masks for months. Infectious-disease experts have criticized what they have described as flagrant flouting of basic public-health guidance at the White House, such as the failure to wear masks and socially distance.

Trump and at least 34 White House aides and other contacts tested positive for the virus, according to an Oct. 7 internal administration document. Some of them are suspected of having become infected at the White House

Rose Garden event celebrating the Supreme Court nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett.

Ensuring every passenger on a plane or bus is properly wearing a mask has proved to be a major challenge. The new CDC guidance received mixed reactions from the transportation industry.

Sara Nelson, international president of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA, applauded the CDC for being "as strong as possible" with the guidance, despite the previous failure of the agency to implement the stronger action.

But she expressed frustration that a debate continues over whether people should wear masks when in public.

"We have flight attendants from other countries wearing space suits on the plane and we're still talking about whether everyone should be wearing masks?" Nelson said. "We asked for this on April 23 and within seven days the airlines had policies. Why? They understood very quickly that if there's any chance for air travel, you've got to put procedures in place that give the public confidence that it's safe to fly."

While airlines threaten to ban passengers who fail to follow corporate mask mandates and transit agencies urge riders to follow local mask rules, operators' instructions are sometimes ignored, unions representing transportation workers said.

Some said the CDC's new recommendation falls short of what

harried transportation employees need.

The guidance is "a good step in the right direction," said Larry Willis, president of the Transportation Trades Department of the AFL-CIO.

"But at the end of the day, these are still just recommendations. . . . To really give teeth to these requirements, there actually has to be a federal mandate," he said, casting blame at the top of the Trump administration.

"The White House has made its hostility to common sense CDC guidelines, including their mask requirement, a central part of their message" in the pandemic, Willis said.

The Transportation Trades Department had petitioned the Department of Transportation to institute a mask requirement, but a senior official there said the department "embraces the notion that there should be no more regulations than necessary."

"This is too little, too late and downright shameful," John A. Costa, international president of the Amalgamated Transit Union, said in a statement. After at least 219,000 deaths, including 90 of the union's members, the "inadequate" federal recommendation also "jeopardizes the safety of operators by asking them to kick people off who aren't wearing masks," Costa said. "This can only lead to potentially dangerous confrontations."

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Trump says Biden ‘wants to listen to Dr. Fauci.’ Biden says Trump is right.

TRUMP FROM AI

it would have led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands more people.

"And yet we keep him," Trump continued, calling in from his Las Vegas hotel. "Every time he goes on television, there's always a bomb, but there's a bigger bomb if you fire him. But Fauci is a disaster."

Later in the day, the president again attacked Fauci, mocking him for his botched ceremonial first pitch at Nationals Park on Opening Day and misrepresenting some of the doctor's positions on the coronavirus in tweets.

Trump's comments and his aggressive travel schedule, which continued Monday with two stops in Arizona as Democratic nominee Joe Biden was at home in Delaware, is part of a broader and more aggressive bet that the American public will reward his projection of strength and general defiance toward the virus, which hospitalized the president and infected many of his top aides this month.

He argued Monday that the American people were no longer interested in taking precautions to prevent the spread of the coronavirus.

"They're getting tired of the pandemic — aren't they?" Trump said at a rally in Arizona. "You turn on CNN. That's all they cover. Covid, covid, pandemic. Covid, covid, covid. . . . They're trying to talk people out of voting. People aren't buying it, CNN, you dumb bastards."

The crowd was packed shoulder to shoulder outside, with few masks in sight.

Trump is expected to do three or four rallies a day starting this weekend, according to people familiar with the plans.

The president's comments come as infection rates have been rising in recent weeks, with national daily infection rates returning to midsummer levels. Polled voters continue to give Trump poor marks on his handling of the pandemic, and nearly 2 out of 3 voters said they were "very" or "somewhat" worried that they or a family member might catch the virus, according to a Washington Post-ABC News poll this month. Eight percent said an immediate family member has been infected.

Trump aides said they had hoped the last-minute call with staffers would not become a story about the coronavirus. Senior advisers to the president say they still want the closing message to be about the economy and what they say would be the negative effects of a Biden victory, with a campaign focus on Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina and Florida. They see the coronavirus — and the president's handling of the pandemic — as their biggest political weakness, and Biden's top advisers agree. But Trump continues to call attention to the outbreak.

For months, Trump has treated Fauci delicately even as divisions



CASSIDY ARAIZA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

TUCSON, AZ - OCTOBER 19: President Donald Trump speaks at a Make America Great Again rally at the Tucson Jet Center in Tucson, Arizona on October 19, 2020. (Photo by Cassidy Araiza/ for The Washington Post)

have grown, occasionally praising him and assuring Americans that he is intimately involved in the White House response. Trump's campaign aides have even put excerpts from a Fauci interview into their advertising, hoping to convince voters that the infectious-disease expert has approved of Trump's response to the coronavirus. Fauci has reacted angrily to the ads, which he says quote him out of context.

"I do not and nor will I ever publicly endorse any political candidate," Fauci said in his Sunday interview on "60 Minutes." "They're sticking me right in the middle of a campaign ad, which I thought was outrageous."

Trump tried to tie Biden to Fauci on Monday — a connection his Democratic rival said he welcomed.

"He wants to listen to Dr. Fauci," Trump said of Biden at the rally.

Biden responded to the attacks with a statement that said he considered the claim that he would listen to scientists "a badge of honor."

"Mr. President, you're right about one thing: The American people are tired. They're tired of your lies about this virus," the Biden statement read. "They're tired of watching more Americans die and more people lose

their jobs because you refuse to take this pandemic seriously."

The president was angry at Fauci after he was critical of him and the White House in the "60 Minutes" interview, saying that the president's conduct made it unsurprising that he caught the coronavirus and that the administration had tried to muzzle him. Fauci has a higher approval rating than the president, which has long rankled Trump, according to advisers who, like others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe internal discussions. Trump has also repeatedly claimed to top senior aides that Fauci is on TV far too often.

The president later posted a video online of him throwing a first pitch and another video of Fauci's botched first pitch.

Trump has been barnstorming Western states in recent days, while Biden has mostly stayed out of public view, preparing for Thursday's presidential debate and avoiding the large crowds amid the global pandemic.

Trump is taking a less rigorous preparation plan for the debate, advisers said, and is unlikely to do extensive formal preparations. The president is instead maintaining an extensive in-person campaign schedule and is expected to visit Florida after the debate for several events, aides

said.

On Monday afternoon, Trump campaign manager Bill Stepien wrote a letter to the Commission on Presidential Debates, seeking to move the conversation in the final debate away from domestic issues such as the coronavirus to foreign policy issues. Trump's aides have made clear that the president wants to talk about the foreign business dealings of Biden's younger son, Hunter. Trump and his allies have also repeatedly claimed that the debate commission, which is bipartisan, is being unfair to him even though its rules apply equally to both candidates and the terms of the face-to-face events were negotiated in advance with both campaigns.

A few hours later, the commission said that it will mute Trump's and Biden's microphones during parts of the debate at Belmont University in Nashville. The 90-minute debate will be broken into six 15-minute segments, each with a different topic. The commission said it will give Trump and Biden two minutes apiece to speak uninterrupted at the start of each segment. A period of "open discussion" will follow until the next segment begins.

Trump's campaign has repeatedly opposed the idea of granting the moderator the power to shut

off a candidate's microphone — an idea that has been floated in the aftermath of the first debate, during which Trump repeatedly interrupted and jeered at Biden.

The Trump campaign call on Monday, which some reporters were invited to listen in on, appeared to have been motivated by recent news reports on internal concerns about the president's reelection chances and division within the president's team. He spoke about the New York Times and The Washington Post with particular derision and threatened to take legal action against one particular poll over its results.

The call had been scheduled as a staffwide "attaboy" morale booster, with top aides and the president presenting a rosy case for his reelection and trying to boost what several aides said were flagging spirits.

Trump repeatedly told his campaign staff on the call that he had never felt more confident as a politician that he would win election — even though he said he was concerned two or three weeks ago during his hospital stay after contracting the coronavirus. He repeatedly attacked the news media but also said he hoped the media was listening to the call.

He praised his senior team, naming aides one by one — Stepien,

en, White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, campaign strategist Jason Miller — and attacked news reports that mentioned them in specific detail.

"I love my team. I am happy with my team," Trump said, after denying friction among his top lieutenants.

Trump ticked through individual states and bragged about the crowds he gets and the unspecified poll results he has seen, which he claimed were different from the voter "suppression polls" reported publicly.

"I go to a rally I have 25,000 people," Trump said, greatly exaggerating the size of his crowds while making a comparison with Biden. "He goes to a rally, he has four people." Most of Trump's rallies are held outside at airports because of the pandemic.

Trump also made a range of startling accusations and comments, including that Biden should be "in jail."

"He's a criminal," Trump said, without offering evidence what crime he had committed.

Trump also made repeated references to alleged communications between Biden's son Hunter and foreign officials that have been reported in the New York Post in recent days. The newspaper said the information it reported was provided by Rudolph W. Giuliani, the president's personal attorney, who has not shared with other news organizations a hard drive from a computer allegedly owned by Hunter Biden that the former New York mayor claims to possess. The Washington Post has not been able to independently verify the information in the New York Post reports.

"I think Joe Biden has a scandal coming up that will make him almost an impotent candidate," he said. "This scandal is so big. And the only thing he has going is he has a corrupt press who will not write about it."

Trump made a number of dubious or false statements, including saying he was back at campaign rallies one day after he was released from the hospital. It was one week later. He again said he could lose the election only if it was "rigged" and made false claims about voter fraud. He exaggerated his record in terms he usually uses on the campaign trail.

The president said the New York Times has not reached out to him in two years, but the outlet interviewed him in August and like almost all news organizations regularly requests comment from the White House.

In closing, he offered some advice for his campaign's employees, saying they need to "work their asses off."

"You have two weeks," he said. "Don't listen to anybody. Don't even read the papers."

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Felicia Sonmez contributed to this report.

Montana governor’s race reflects political shift

BY KATHLEEN McLAUGHLIN

HELENA, MONT. — Mike Cooney has been on the grassy trail only a few minutes, his face partly obscured by an “I ♥ public lands” pandemic mask, when a couple approaches to tell him they’ve donated to his campaign and need him to win the race for governor.

“I swear I didn’t set that up,” he says with a laugh.

It’s a typical moment in Montana politics: people randomly recognizing a candidate and walking up to wish him or her well. But this race, perhaps the clearest case in decades of ideological opposites running for the top job, is anything but typical.

In a state where voters routinely split the ticket and vote across party lines, retail politics and personal connections have long mattered. The 2020 gubernatorial contest has morphed into something different, led by ad spending and partisan identity centered on President Trump. It is a reflection of the polarization gripping the nation, which now threatens this traditionally bipartisan state.

The two opponents epitomize old vs. new Montana politics. Cooney, 66, is a well-liked Democrat, a sitting lieutenant governor and grandson of a 1930s Montana governor, with decades of public service experience. His opponent is two-term Rep. Greg Gianforte, 59, a Trump-aligned Republican running largely on his credentials as a self-made multimillionaire tech businessman.

In their virtual debates — the coronavirus pandemic derailed actual faceoffs — Gianforte has derided Cooney’s years in government, while Cooney centered his attacks on Gianforte’s sharply conservative positions.

The Cook Political Report considers theirs the only toss-up governor’s race this fall, and with early voting already underway, Gianforte maintains a slight edge in the few polls that have assessed the race. The most recent showed him with 47 percent support over Cooney’s 42 percent, just inside the margin of error. Seven percent of voters were still undecided, more than in the state’s other big contests.

Political scientist David Parker of Montana State University, who ran that Treasure State poll, said he doesn’t think Montana is heading hard right despite Trump winning here by more than 20 points in 2016. “The real question is, how much is Montana’s vaunted independence real?” he said.

These days, the answer is complicated. The state has been gentrifying and growing more stratified, with the balance of power and issues shifting significantly — from traditional labor concerns to more emphasis on recreation and public lands, as well as conservation. There are pressures to address the increasing income gap and an affordable housing crisis.

Though Montana is often described as politically red, that mostly applies to how it votes for president. In other statewide races, the truth is more nuanced. Political attitudes often vary starkly by location, sometimes heightened by the influx of newcomers. Bozeman, for instance, has become more liberal as it has grown, while Kalispell’s conservative bent has intensified.

The two U.S. Senate seats are frequently split by party. Sen. Jon Tester (D) comfortably won reelection in 2018, but this year’s matchup between two-term Gov.



TOMMY MARTINO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Steve Bullock (D) and incumbent Sen. Steve Daines (R) has turned into one of the closest and biggest-money Senate races in the country.

That has meant less attention to the governor’s race, which is arguably more important to the state’s future. Democrats have occupied the governor’s office for the past 16 years, yet with a Republican-controlled legislature likely to hold, a Republican governor could undo more moderate policies on health care, public schools funding and labor protections.

Gianforte was defeated in his initial run four years ago. The next year, he attracted national attention when he assaulted a reporter while campaigning for a special House election and initially denied the incident before apol-

ogizing. He was elected to Montana’s lone congressional seat with barely 50 percent of the vote and was reelected by almost the same margin in 2018.

His job approval ratings continue to lag. Despite a statewide mask mandate, he has been photographed at political events wearing no mask — most notably at a “Let Freedom Ring” concert in early October that has been linked to confirmed coronavirus infections. In a debate around the same time, as Montana’s cases started to spike, he said he would rely on personal responsibility to combat the coronavirus. Cooney said he would be guided by “science and the best medical practices.”

Gianforte’s campaign declined multiple requests for an interview with the candidate. “As a

general rule,” it responded via email, “our campaign has chosen to dedicate our time and attention exclusively to Montana press.”

Montana reporters, however, say their own access to him have been limited.

Sally Mauk, a veteran state politics reporter and analyst with Montana Public Radio in Missoula, said skirting the press and general public has allowed Gianforte to present himself as more of a moderate Republican than his past statements and voting record in Washington indicate.

“His popularity in Montana, if you can call it that, is that he comes off as ‘I’m going to be your economic messiah,’ and that message really resonates right now because of the pandemic,” Mauk said. But if he is elected governor, she said she expects a far different

administration. “He will do it in a way the state has never experienced,” Mauk said. “He’ll be very conservative on social and cultural issues.”

Cooney is hammering away at a traditional Montana Democratic message that has worked for others — a slate of issues topped by opposition to any privatization of public lands, greater funding for public education and more protections for labor. He stresses that the governor’s office will be critical to managing the pandemic in months to come and in sending clear messages about basic protections such as masks.

“We need to basically set an example, so that Montanans who are getting tired of this understand that we have to continue to fight this thing and it is serious, and people will get sick and peo-

ple will continue to die,” he said in an interview. “The economy will not recover if we don’t keep Montana healthy.”

Cooney isn’t a flashy candidate, and despite his statewide office, a survey this summer found that 48 percent of voters weren’t sure what they thought of him. Mauk calls him “a bit of an enigma.”

“He’s someone who has been in public life in Montana for over four decades, and I still have people ask me what he’s really like. That’s telling, isn’t it?” she said.

Gianforte’s campaign raised \$6.9 million through September, \$3 million from his own pockets. That was more than double the \$2.5 million Cooney raised with no self-funding. Some big names have gotten involved of late. Vice President Pence visited in September to stump for Gianforte and other Republicans, and part-time Montana resident David Letterman and Montana-born actors Michelle Williams and Jesse Tyler Ferguson hosted a virtual fundraiser for Cooney on Monday.

For some Republicans here, the GOP’s veer to the right has gone too far. Bob Brown, a former state legislator, secretary of state and 2004 nominee for governor, says the politics of Trump, Gianforte and Daines have left his party unrecognizable.

“The Republican Party in Montana has become part of the national trend,” he said. “It’s been moving in that direction for a long time.”

Brown decided this year that it left him little choice; he declared himself an independent. He voted Friday for more Democrats than in any previous election, he said — including the Democrat for governor.

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LOUISE JOHNS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Supporters wait for Vice President Pence at a rally in Belgrade, Mont. ABOVE: Republican Rep. Greg Gianforte, left, is running against Democratic Lt. Gov. Mike Cooney, right, to replace Gov. Steve Bullock. In presidential politics, Montana is reliably red, but in other races, there’s always been some blue in the Big Sky. Gianforte is a successful businessman cut from the same cloth as President Trump, while Cooney runs on preserving public lands and strengthening public education and labor protections.

Supreme Court’s ruling on Pa. ballots could have pivotal impact in key state

BALLOTS FROM AI

Bader Ginsburg, and the potential importance of President Trump’s nominee to replace her, Judge Amy Coney Barrett.

The court was tied on the Republican request, which means the effort failed.

The court’s four most conservative justices — Clarence Thomas, Samuel A. Alito Jr., Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh — said they would have granted the stay.

But that takes five votes, which means Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. sided with liberal Justices Stephen G. Breyer, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan.

Neither side explained its reasoning, which often is the case with emergency requests. But the outcome underscored the decisive role Barrett could play if she is confirmed by the Republican-controlled Senate — with a vote there expected as soon as next week. Trump has said he

wants his nominee on the court in case it is split on litigation arising from the election.

That, in turn, has prompted calls from Democrats that Barrett pledge to recuse herself from election cases. She declined to say at her confirmation hearings last week what she would do so if faced with such a decision.

The Supreme Court had considered the Republican request for nearly two weeks, indicating that an attempt at compromise might have failed.

Monday’s order was the latest in a string of election procedure battles waged in the states between Democrats and Republicans.

Previously, the court sided with South Carolina Republicans and said most mail-in ballots there must contain a witness’s signature, something federal courts had said should be waived because of the coronavirus pandemic.

The litigation is often over

seemingly small details — but ones that could make a difference in close races.

Pennsylvania has particular significance because it is crucial to Trump’s reelection fortunes. He defeated Hillary Clinton there in 2016 by 44,000 votes, or less than one percentage point.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled in Democrats’ favor last month on a number of mail-voting rules: permitting voters to turn in ballots via dropbox in addition to using the U.S. Postal Service; allowing ballots to be returned up to three days after Election Day; and blocking a Republican effort to allow partisan poll watchers to be stationed in counties where they do not live.

Pennsylvania’s Republican legislators and the state GOP asked the U.S. Supreme Court to weigh in only on the ruling pushing back the deadline for mail ballots to arrive. The state court said such ballots must be

counted if they are postmarked by Nov. 3 — and even if no postmark is discernible, “unless a preponderance of the evidence” shows that the ballots were mailed after Election Day.

“In a year where there is a very real possibility that the final presidential election result hinges on Pennsylvania, the new rules imposed by the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (a body elected in partisan elections) could destroy the American public’s confidence in the electoral system as a whole,” said the stay request filed by the Republican leaders.

The state Supreme Court decision was based on a clause in the commonwealth’s constitution mandating that “all aspects of the electoral process in Pennsylvania be open and unrestricted so as not to disenfranchise Pennsylvania voters,” the state’s Democratic attorney general, Josh Shapiro, said in defending the state court decision.

“The Pennsylvania Supreme Court’s decision protected that right and brought much needed clarity to the exigent circumstances surrounding a global pandemic,” Shapiro wrote. “In doing so, that court ensured that Pennsylvanians would not be forced to choose between exercising their right to vote and protecting their health.”

He rejected Republicans’ claim that the decision essentially extended voting beyond Election Day and said it was a key aspect of federalism that states decide how to run their elections.

Pennsylvania lawmakers said the decision takes away the power of legislatures to set election rules. The changes are tied to challenges of the pandemic, they said, but “the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania’s own special master found that COVID-19 is not likely to disrupt the November General Election ballot receipt deadline.”

While the U.S. Supreme Court is often skeptical of federal judges changing rules during an election, it would have been rare for the court to intervene when a state court was interpreting the state’s constitution and laws. That makes the tie vote surprising, considering it was the court’s conservatives who were ready to stop the state court.

A coalition of Republican lawyers and officials from previous administrations had warned the court in an amicus brief that would be a mistake.

They said that a denial of the stay request “by the broadest majority possible will benefit this court, our country, and its precious tradition of the peaceful retention or transfer of power.” Former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge (R) was among those who signed the brief.

The cases are *Scarnati v. Boockvar* and *Republican Party v. Boockvar*.

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Six Russian officers charged in high-profile cyberattacks

RUSSIA FROM AI

systems that year.

But the new indictment does not charge any Russians with attempting to interfere in this year's contest, and officials said the announcement was not timed to the current political schedule.

Rather, the six Russians stand accused of what Justice Department officials say is the single most disruptive and destructive series of cyberattacks ever attributed to one group. The indictment, like others before it, is an effort, officials say, to pull the veil back on how Moscow has sought to punish or retaliate against detractors of the Russian Federation — whether they are former Soviet states, European nations or the United States.

"No country has weaponized its cyber capabilities as maliciously and irresponsibly as Russia, wantonly causing unprecedented collateral damage to pursue small tactical advantages and to satisfy fits of spite," Assistant Attorney General John Demers said in announcing the indictment.

On the heels of the U.S. announcement, the British government levied its own accusation, saying the same GRU unit sought to hack individuals and organizations involved in the 2020 Summer Olympics and Paralympic Games that were due to take place in Tokyo. Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab condemned the effort as "cynical and reckless," and said Britain will continue to work with its allies "to call out and counter" malicious attacks.

Russian officials dismissed Monday's developments.

"The new allegations of cyberattacks aimed at interfering are another step to discredit Moscow," Leonid Slutsky, chairman of the State Duma Committee on International Affairs, told the Interfax news agency. "Such statements have never been accompanied by strong evidence — it's all in the category of 'highly likely.'"

The charges read like a Top 10 list of cyberattacks and attempts, which authorities say were conducted by a team known as Unit 74455. Cybersecurity researchers have dubbed it the Sandworm Team.

In 2016, Unit 74455 worked in tandem with another GRU team, Unit 26165, to carry out the hack of Democratic computers and leak of emails ahead of that year's election in 2016. Unit 26165 conducted the intrusion, officials determined, while their colleagues at Unit 74455 set up a website, DCLeaks, to display hacked emails. The GRU also leaked the emails to WikiLeaks, whose disclosure drew far more attention than the one on DCLeaks.

Although officials said Monday's indictment was not a specific warning to Moscow to avoid interfering in this year's election, they said it serves as a "general" warning that such activities are not deniable.

"Americans should be confident that a vote cast for their candidate will be counted for that candidate," Demers said.

FBI Deputy Director David Bowdich said the charges show



ANDREW HARNIK/POOL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A poster shows the six wanted Russian military intelligence officers as Assistant Attorney General John Demers speaks Monday during a news conference at the Justice Department announcing the indictment. With him are FBI Deputy Director David Bowdich, second from right, and FBI Special Agent Michael Christman.

that "time and again, Russia has made it clear they will not abide by accepted norms and instead they intend to continue their destructive and destabilizing cyber behavior."

The timeline of Unit 74455's activities dates back to at least 2015. According to the indictment, the alleged hackers unleashed wave after wave of computer attacks on Ukraine — a former Soviet state engaged in ongoing conflict with Russia and a perennial target for Moscow.

In late 2015 and 2016, the alleged hackers launched computer attacks against Ukraine's electric grid, officials said.

In the 2015 attack, the GRU tunneled into three electric distribution systems and disrupted circuit breakers remotely — the first cyberattack to cause a power outage, said Robert M. Lee, chief executive of Dragos, a cyber firm specializing in critical infrastructure. A year later, the Russians targeted a transmission company, employing more sophisticated malware designed specifically to interfere with electric grids, Lee said.

"These attacks turned out the lights and turned off the heat in the middle of the Eastern European winter, as the lives of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian men, women and children went

dark and cold," Demers said.

Hackers also deployed malware against Ukraine's Finance Ministry and State Treasury Service in late 2016, disconnecting the treasury's automated payment system and temporarily disabling the Finance Ministry's telecommunications infrastructure, the indictment said.

damages, officials said.

It infected computers at dozens of hospitals, doctors' offices and medical facilities in western Pennsylvania as well as at a large drugmaker and a FedEx subsidiary, which collectively suffered nearly \$1 billion in losses, officials said.

One U.S. pharmaceutical firm

"No country has weaponized its cyber capabilities as maliciously and irresponsibly as Russia, wantonly causing unprecedented collateral damage to pursue small tactical advantages and to satisfy fits of spite."

John Demers, assistant attorney general

In 2017, U.S. officials said, the Russian military launched a more costly attack against Ukraine, one that quickly spread to computer systems around the world. That malware, dubbed "NotPetya," is considered by many security experts to be the most destructive cyberattack ever unleashed. Disguised as ransomware ostensibly demanding money, NotPetya acted more like a forest fire, torching computer networks as it spread and inflicting billions of dollars in

spent more than half a billion dollars to fix the problems caused by NotPetya, officials said.

The hack of a company supporting the 2018 Winter Olympics came in apparent retaliation for the International Olympic Committee's ban on participation by the Russian team after the IOC found evidence of widespread doping by Russian athletes, officials said. Although individual athletes were allowed to compete in the Winter Games, they could

not do so under the Russian banner or display the flag on their uniforms.

Demers said the Russians showed "the maturity of a petulant child" in choosing to attack the 2018 Games. That malware, dubbed "Olympic Destroyer," deleted data from thousands of computers supporting the Games, rendering them inoperable, U.S. officials said. The authors of that software tried to make it look like the work of North Korea, but U.S. investigators and computer experts have said it was Russian.

The GRU attempted to replicate its 2016 success in hacking and leaking emails to disrupt the U.S. election by attempting a similar feat in France in 2017, officials said, but its effort fizzled when media organizations that received the emails refrained from reporting on them because of a mandatory news blackout on the eve of the election.

Nonetheless, the indictment shows that the GRU was trying for a while to get the hacked material placed, evidently without success. According to the charges, from April 12 through April 26, 2017, a GRU-controlled social media account contacted various French individuals offering them access to internal Macron campaign documents. Macron reported on May 6 — the day before the elec-

tion — that the material had been disseminated.

The targeting of the organizations investigating the attempted assassination of Skripal did not result in apparent compromises, but took place as Britain announced it had identified the poison used as a military-grade nerve agent, Novichok, a class of chemical weapons developed in the former Soviet Union and Russia.

Although none of the defendants is in custody, Justice Department officials say the indictment educates the American public and the international community about Moscow's aims, sends a message to others that "there's no safe haven abroad," and offers support to those who have been hurt.

"We want to stand behind the victims that have been targeted by this group," said a department official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the person was not authorized to speak on the record. "Victims should not have to face foreign governments and their intelligence services alone."

The other defendants charged Monday are Yuriy Andrienko, 32, Sergey Detistov, 35, Pavel Frolov, 28, Artem Ochichenko, 27, and Petr Pliskin, 32.

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OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump and many advisers have come to believe that the key to a return to normalcy is a coronavirus vaccine, a senior administration official said, adding, “They’ve given up on everything else.”

Trump’s pandemic task force has become a den of dissent

TASK FORCE FROM A1

counts showing otherwise, and his willingness to tell the public that a vaccine could be developed before the Nov. 3 election, despite clear indications of a slower timetable.

Atlas’s ascendancy was apparent during a recent Oval Office meeting. After Trump left the room, Atlas startled other aides by walking behind the Resolute Desk and occupying the president’s personal space to keep the meeting going, according to one senior administration official. Atlas called this account “false and laughable.”

Discord on the coronavirus task force has worsened since the arrival in late summer of Atlas, whom colleagues said they regard as ill-informed, manipulative and at times dishonest. As the White House coronavirus response coordinator, Deborah Birx is tasked with collecting and analyzing infection data and compiling charts detailing upticks and other trends. But Atlas routinely has challenged Birx’s analysis and those of other doctors, including Anthony S. Fauci, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Director Robert Redfield, and Food and Drug Administration Commissioner Stephen Hahn, with what the other doctors considered junk science, according to three senior administration officials.

Birx recently confronted the office of Vice President Pence, who chairs the task force, about the acrimony, according to two people familiar with the meeting. Birx, whose profile and influence have eroded considerably since Atlas’s arrival, told Pence’s office that she does not trust Atlas, does not believe he is giving Trump sound advice and wants him removed from the task force, the two people said.

In one recent encounter, Pence did not take sides between Atlas and Birx, but rather told them to bring data bolstering their perspectives to the task force and to work out their disagreements themselves, according to two senior administration officials.

The result has been a U.S. response increasingly plagued by distrust, infighting and lethargy, just as experts predict coronavirus cases could surge this winter and deaths could reach 400,000 by year’s end.

This assessment is based on interviews with 41 administration officials, advisers to the president, public health leaders and other people with knowledge of internal government deliberations, some of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity to provide candid assessments or confidential information.

Atlas defended his views and conduct in a series of statements sent through a spokesperson and condemned The Washington

Post’s reporting as “another story filled with overt lies and distortions to undermine the President and the expert advice he is being given.”

Atlas said he has always stressed “all appropriate mitigation measures to save lives,” and he responded to accounts of dissent on the task force by saying, “Any policy discussion where data isn’t being challenged isn’t a policy discussion.”

On the issue of herd immunity, Atlas said, “We emphatically deny that the White House, the President, the Administration, or anyone advising the President has pursued or advocated for a wide-open strategy of achieving herd immunity by letting the infection proceed through the community.”

The doctor’s denial conflicts with his previous public and private statements, including his recent endorsement of the “Great Barrington Declaration,” which effectively promotes a herd immunity strategy.

On Saturday, Atlas wrote on Twitter that masks do not work, prompting the social media site to remove the tweet for violating its safety rules for spreading misinformation. Several medical and public health experts flagged the tweet as dangerous misinformation coming from a primary adviser to the president.

“Masks work? NO,” Atlas wrote in the tweet, followed by other misrepresentations about the science behind masks. He linked to an article from the American Institute for Economic Research — a libertarian think tank behind the Barrington effort — that argued against masks and dismissed the threat of the virus as overblown.

Trump and many of his advisers have come to believe that the key to a revived economy and a return to normalcy is a vaccine.

“They’ve given up on everything else,” said a senior administration official involved in the pandemic response. “It’s too hard of a slog.”

Infectious-disease and other public health experts said the friction inside the White House has impaired the government’s response.

“It seems to me this is policy-based evidence-making rather than evidence-based policymaking,” said Marc Lipsitch, director of the Center for Communicable Disease Dynamics at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. “In other words, if your goal is to do nothing, then you create a situation in which it looks okay to do nothing [and] you find some experts to make it complicated.”

These days, the task force is dormant relative to its robust activity earlier in the pandemic. Fauci, Birx, Surgeon General Jerome Adams and other members have confided in others that they are dispirited.

Birx and Fauci have advocated

dramatically increasing the nation’s testing capacity, especially as experts anticipate a devastating increase in cases this winter. They have urged the government to use unspent money Congress allocated for testing — which amounts to \$9 billion, according to a Democratic Senate Appropriations Committee aide — so that anyone who needs to can get a test with results returned quickly.

But Atlas, who is opposed to surveillance testing, has repeatedly quashed these proposals. He has argued that young and healthy people do not need to get tested and that testing resources should be allocated to nursing homes and other vulnerable places, such as prisons and meatpacking plants.

White House spokeswoman Sarah Matthews defended Trump and the administration’s management of the crisis.

“President Trump has always listened to the advice of his top public health experts, who have diverse areas of expertise,” Matthews said in a statement. “The President always puts the well-being of the American people first as evidenced by the many bold, data-driven decisions he has made to save millions of lives. Because of his strong leadership, our country can safely reopen with adequate PPE, treatments, and vaccines developed in record time.”

Yet amid a public health crisis that has claimed the lives of more than 219,000 people in the United States — a far higher death toll than any other nation has reported — a consensus has formed within the administration that some measures to mitigate the spread of the virus may not be worth the trouble.

The president gave voice to this mind-set during an NBC News town hall Thursday night, when he declined to answer whether he supported herd immunity. “The cure cannot be worse than the problem itself,” Trump told host Savannah Guthrie.

But medical experts disagreed, saying it is dangerous for government leaders to advocate herd immunity or oppose interventions.

New coronavirus cases and deaths in the U.S., by day
As of 8 p.m. Monday

CASES
Total **8,179,730**
70,000
58,522
60,000
50,000
40,000
30,000
20,000
10,000
0
Feb. 29 Oct. 19
7-day average

DEATHS
Total **219,528**
2,500
2,000
1,500
1,000
500
0
Feb. 29 Oct. 19
7-day average

“We’d be foolish to reenter a situation where we know what to do and we’re not doing it,” said Rochelle Walensky, chief of the division of infectious diseases at Massachusetts General Hospital and a professor of medicine at Harvard Medical School. “This thing can take off. All you need to do is look at what’s happened at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue over the last two weeks to see that this thing is way faster than we’re giving it credit for.”

‘The cure’

After Trump came home from the hospital this month, he all but promised Americans that they could soon be cured from the coronavirus just as he claimed to have been. In a video taped at the White House on Oct. 5, he vowed, “The vaccines are coming momentarily.”

Then, at a rally last Tuesday night in Johnstown, Pa., Trump told supporters: “The vaccines are coming soon, the therapeutics and, frankly, the cure. All I know is I took something, whatever the hell it was. I felt good very quickly. . . . I felt like Superman.”

Trump’s miraculous timeline has run headlong into reality, however. On the same day that he declared “the cure” was near, Johnson & Johnson became the second pharmaceutical giant, after AstraZeneca, to halt its vaccine trial. A third trial, a government-run test of a monoclonal antibody manufactured by Eli Lilly & Co., was also paused. Each move was prompted by safety concerns.

And on Friday, Pfizer said it will not be able to seek an emergency use authorization from the FDA until the third week of November, at the earliest, seemingly making a vaccine before Election Day all but impossible.

Trump’s notion of a vaccine as a cure-all for the pandemic is similarly miraculous, according to medical experts.

“The vaccines, although they’re wonderful, are not going to make the virus magically disappear,” said Tom Frieden, a former CDC director who is president of Resolve to Save Lives. “There’s no

fairy-tale ending to this pandemic. We’re going to be dealing with it at least through 2021, and it’s likely to have implications for how we do everything from work to school, even with vaccines.”

Frieden added: “Remember, we have vaccines against the flu, and we still have flu.”

Still, Trump has ratcheted up his push for vaccines over the past several months, intensifying the pressure on government scientists, federal regulators and pharmaceutical executives. He has had one end date in mind: Nov. 3, which is Election Day.

Trump has envisioned a green-lit vaccine as the kind of breakthrough that could persuade voters to see his management of the pandemic as successful and thus upend a race in which virtually all public polls show him trailing Democratic nominee Joe Biden.

Earlier this fall, Trump called Albert Bourla, the chief executive of Pfizer, and asked whether a vaccine could be ready for distribution by late October, before the election. Pfizer spokeswoman Sharon Castillo said executives have regular communications with administration officials on a wide range of health policy issues but that she could not comment on private conversations.

On a call in August with Francis Collins, director of the National Institutes of Health, Trump accused the agency of moving too slowly to approve a vaccine or other treatments, including convalescent plasma, according to two officials familiar with the conversation. The NIH, which declined to comment, is a biomedical research agency and does not approve treatments or vaccines.

Matthews denied that Trump sees the vaccine timetable through the prism of the campaign calendar. “This is not about politics; it’s about saving lives,” she said. She added, “any vaccine approval will maintain the FDA’s gold standard for safety and efficacy and be proven to save lives.”

The relationships between FDA officials and White House staffers have grown more acrimonious since September, when details of stricter FDA vaccine guidance were reported by The Post. Trump and White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows — who has involved himself in the work of health agencies to a degree other officials consider inappropriate — have repeatedly challenged Hahn over his agency’s proposals and rules, much to the FDA commissioner’s frustration.

Trump is asserting control over the messaging campaign around a vaccine. His politically minded aides in the White House have taken over the government’s communications effort, as opposed to health or scientific communicators at the relevant agencies.

For example, White House aides have sought to persuade Moncef Slaoui, head of “Opera-

tion Warp Speed,” the government’s initiative to mass-distribute an eventual vaccine, to speak more positively about the vaccine, and sometimes he has pushed back on their talking points, two officials said.

Trump routinely has told his political advisers that a vaccine would be ready by the time he stands for reelection. And he has plotted with his team on a pre-election promotional campaign to try to convince voters a vaccine is safe, approved and ready for mass distribution — even if none of that is true yet.

These are some of the ingredients of a public health disaster, experts say.

“The one thing you can’t do — and it’s what everybody fears, it’s what the pharmaceutical companies fear, it’s what everybody on the inside fears — is that the government would, because of political purposes or because other countries put a vaccine out before us, truncate the normal process you’d accept for a safe and effective vaccine,” said Paul A. Offit, director of the Vaccine Education Center at Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia, a professor of vaccinology at the University of Pennsylvania and a member of the FDA’s vaccine advisory council.

Trump’s view of the FDA has darkened considerably in recent weeks. The president now believes — despite the absence of any such evidence — that officials there are working against him to slow-walk vaccine approval as “some sort of ‘deep state’ push to keep him from winning reelection,” according to an administration official.

Trump has said as much himself.

“New FDA Rules make it more difficult for them to speed up vaccines for approval before Election Day. Just another political hit job! @SteveFDA,” the president wrote in an Oct. 6 tweet, tagging Hahn’s Twitter handle.

Trump’s conspiratorial view of the FDA is shaped in part by White House trade adviser Peter Navarro and others in the president’s orbit, both inside and outside the government.

Saad B. Omer, director of the Yale Institute for Global Health, said the atmosphere of pressure and recrimination, nurtured by the president, is “very concerning.”

“These are people who have dedicated their lives to working in public health and medicine and research,” he said. “To think that in the biggest public health event of their lives they would sleep an extra hour or slow-walk this for any reason is absurd.”

He added, “It’s like how an ambulance drives faster than a regular car because it’s an emergency, but even an ambulance driver is not foolhardy. They don’t want to drive over the bridge.”

SEE TASK FORCE ON A11

TASK FORCE FROM A10

‘A lot of political pressure’

The distrust in Washington has trickled down to the states, where friction has increased between several governors and the administration over the vaccine process.

Some governors and officials close to them privately have expressed alarm about Trump and his aides laying the groundwork for a rushed vaccine announcement. The president has delegated much of the state outreach to Pence, who in regular calls with governors has come across as a smooth salesman for Trump’s speedy approach. The vice president has encouraged governors to help build confidence for eventual vaccines among their constituents.

Illinois Gov. J.B. Pritzker (D), whose state is the site for vaccine trials, said in an interview, “I certainly fear there is a lot of political pressure being applied.” He said his state is preparing for a vaccine rollout, but would carefully evaluate the integrity of any announcement emanating from the White House.

“Nobody has told me that it’ll be ready by November 2nd or anytime before the election,” Pritzker said. “But [Trump] will no doubt claim such a thing because of the cocktail of drugs that he seems to be on now. He’s liable to say anything that isn’t true.”

The concerns are not limited to Democrats. One Republican state official who works with the Trump administration and spoke on the condition of anonymity to preserve that relationship, said, “It’s what I would call soft power. Pence comes on these calls and sounds normal and upbeat, and basically says, ‘Stand with us.’”

The official added, “We all want a vaccine, right? We obviously want it. We’ll take it. But we don’t really know if they’ll do this right.”

The politicization of the process has damaged public credibility in an eventual vaccine. A Gallup poll released this month found that 50 percent of Americans said they would be willing to take a coronavirus vaccine approved by the FDA “right now at no cost.” That is a sharp decline from 61 percent in August and 66 percent in July.

During a virtual task force meeting led by Pence on Sept. 21, Washington Gov. Jay Inslee (D) said, “There is a substantial concern,” according to an audio recording of the meeting. “A significant part of that problem is the president’s



OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

White House coronavirus adviser Scott Atlas, a neuroradiologist whose commentary on Fox News led President Trump to recruit him, has consolidated power on the president’s pandemic task force while openly challenging infectious-disease experts such as Anthony S. Fauci.

continued anti-science statements that are contradictory to his medical advisers in so many different ways.”

Inslee asked Pence directly, “Have you discussed with the president how he’s been eroding public confidence in our efforts, including the vaccine approval? Have you discussed that with him? Have you urged him to stop this behavior?”

Pence did not directly answer the question. Rather, he replied, “We think you and all the governors on this call have a great responsibility to make sure the public knows while we’re moving rapidly and while there may be differences in opinion about various events, we just don’t want any undermining of confidence in the vaccine.”

The vice president added, “I can assure you the president will continue to speak clearly about that process.”

Inslee later said in an interview that Pence was anything but assuring.

“There is a pressure campaign,”

Inslee said. “We need to follow science and not this distortion campaign . . . The people are on to [Trump]. They know he is trying to turn this into an electoral issue.”

‘A magic dust’

As the election nears, one of Trump’s biggest vulnerabilities with voters is his handling of the pandemic — which he increasingly has sought to blame on others. For instance, the president has complained bitterly about Hahn and Redfield, pointing to congressional testimony and other public comments they have made as undermining his chances for reelection, according to multiple administration officials.

Trump also has vented about the slow pace of vaccine trials and has fumed privately about the pharmaceutical industry, even though he speaks highly of some industry executives. Lately, he has expressed particular concern that the absence of a vaccine announcement has been hurting him with early voting, according to an administration official.

Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar, a former Eli Lilly president who has close ties to the pharmaceutical industry, has sought to cool Trump’s temper and assure him that the process is sound.

Also whispering optimism in the tempestuous president’s ear has been Atlas, who is said to be operating with the full confidence of Jared Kushner, Trump’s son-in-law and senior adviser overseeing key aspects of the pandemic response, and Hope Hicks, the president’s counselor and confidante.

This is in part because Atlas has sought to spin the public with what others deride as “happy talk” that the outbreak is close to over. “Everybody looks for what Atlas is giving them,” one official involved in the response said.

Offit said: “This administration, like it does with everything, is overselling vaccines. They make it sound like a magic dust they’ll distribute over the country and the disease will go away . . . What could happen is people think, great, I just got my vaccine, I can

throw away my mask, I can engage in high-risk activity, and then we’d actually take a step back.”

Most controversially, Atlas has pushed a baseless theory inside the task force that the U.S. population is close to herd immunity — the point at which enough people become immune to a disease either by becoming infected or getting vaccinated that its spread slows — despite a scientific consensus that the United States is nowhere close.

Given the transmissibility of the coronavirus, experts estimate about 60 to 70 percent of the population would need to become infected to reach herd immunity, a course that they warn would probably result in hundreds of thousands of excess deaths. A recent CDC study, about which Redfield testified to the Senate, showed about 9 percent of people in the United States had antibodies against the virus.

But Atlas publicly contradicted Redfield last month, telling reporters that more of the population was protected against the virus because of so-called T-cell immu-

nity, in which people with exposure to previous coronaviruses — such as the common cold — have T cells that also protect them against covid-19, the disease caused by the novel coronavirus.

No credible scientific study has proved this theory, and Atlas’s advocacy of it dismayed other task force officials.

At a task force meeting late last month, Atlas stated that there was herd immunity in much of the country because of a combination of high infection rates in cities such as New York and Miami and T-cell immunity, according to two senior administration officials. He said that only 40 to 50 percent of people need to be infected to reach the threshold. And he argued that because of this immunity, all restrictions should be lifted, schools should be opened and only the most vulnerable populations, such as nursing home residents, should be sheltered.

This resulted in a fierce debate with Birx and Fauci, who demanded Atlas show them the data that backed up his assertions, one of the officials said.

“It is not the case there’s extra immunity around in T cells,” Lipsitch said. “The vast, vast majority of infectious-disease epidemiologists in this country don’t believe several of the key points these people are arguing for and don’t believe it because the evidence isn’t there and points in the other direction.”

Regardless, Trump has used Atlas to back up his own rejection of medical expertise. At Thursday’s NBC News town hall, a Florida voter asked the president whether after contracting covid-19 he now believed in the importance of mask-wearing.

Trump equivocated. “I’ve heard many different stories on masks,” he said.

When Guthrie challenged him by noting that all of his health officials were united in advocating masks, Trump countered by invoking Atlas.

“Scott Adkins,” Trump said, mispronouncing the doctor’s name. “If you look at Scott, Dr. Scott, he’s from — great guy — from Stanford, he will tell you.”

“He’s not an infectious-disease expert,” Guthrie said.

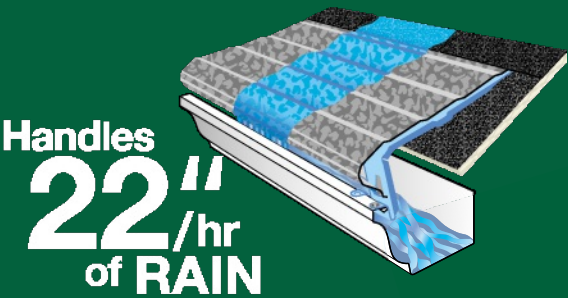
“Oh, I don’t know,” Trump replied. “Look, he’s an expert. He’s one of the experts of the world.”

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THE WORLD

Thai protesters following the Hong Kong playbook

Leaderless, digitally driven rallies confound officials with moves adopted from streets of Chinese territory

BY SHIBANI MAHTANI
AND PARITTA WANGKIAT

HONG KONG — This past weekend, Lalisa could not look away from her smartphone.

Clicking between Twitter, Instagram and secure messaging app Telegram, the 27-year-old, who lives a comfortable middle-class life in Bangkok, was not consuming her usual online fare of South Korean actors and fashion. She was instead furiously joining newly established Telegram groups telling her what to pack and where to assemble for yet another mass protest in defiance of Thailand's military-linked government and monarchy. Most of the posts were from protesting guides for last year's demonstrations in Hong Kong, translated into Thai.

"With guidance like this, it made it easier for me to prepare and just pack everything I need in one backpack," she said, providing only her first name for fear of arrest. "We have learned from our previous experiences."

Young, digitally savvy Thai protesters like Lalisa are at the forefront of a swelling anti-government movement that has broken the mold in Thailand — both by shattering the long-held taboo against criticizing the powerful monarchy and by revolutionizing mass protests and dissent in the country.

Shedding the old strategy of occupying streets, which made protesters an easy target for police, demonstrators today have borrowed from their Hong Kong counterparts, subscribing to the "be water" strategy of fluid gatherings.

"This is the first time in Thai history that protesters are unpredictable, leaderless and moving like water," said Tattap Ruangprapaikitseree, secretary general of the Free Youth group, which organized the first anti-government protests. "Since the beginning, our group has wanted to be like the protesters in Hong Kong. They are the model for such a movement."

The result so far has been harder for police to control, even in the context of Thailand's long history of crackdowns on political movements. In recent days, police officers have privately admitted to being outmaneuvered, unable to arrest demonstrators en masse or to prepare crowd-control weapons ahead of time.

Police have "never experienced this before," said a 21-year-old officer deployed to Bangkok, speaking on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the protests. "The protesters disappear even before we arrive; we cannot tackle the protests by using our old methods."

Eluding authorities

The protests began this summer, calling for greater democratic freedom in Thailand, reforms to the constitution and the resignation of Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha, the general who won disputed elections last year after leading the army in a 2014 coup.

The movement gained even more momentum when student leaders took aim at the monarchy — once an untouchable subject in Thailand, which has some of the strictest lèse-majesté laws in the world. They began speaking out about the monarchy's deeply embedded place in politics and society and the wealth of King Vajiralongkorn.

On Thursday, the Thai govern-



TOP: Thai protesters calling for greater democratic freedom carry umbrellas to ward off tear gas at a rally Sunday in Bangkok.
BOTTOM: A 2017 pro-democracy gathering in Hong Kong. Umbrellas became a symbol of protest in the Chinese territory.

ment issued an emergency decree in an effort to end the protests, the first sign of a mounting crackdown against the movement. It served only to galvanize the demonstrators, who gathered in the tens of thousands Friday before they were dispersed by water cannons.

Lalisa was among the crowd gathered near the glitzy Siam Paragon mall on Friday. Admittedly a protest novice, she was settling in for a meal of fried chicken and burgers close to the front lines of the demonstration

when a voice in the crowd shouted "Run!"

Stuffing her laptop in her bag and stumbling in her rubber flip-flops, she dashed as far as she could, unclear about where she was even going.

"I thought in my head, 'Are we running from bullets?'" Lalisa said. "All around me were students in uniform, running in fear, without knowing where they should go."

Eventually Lalisa found a taxi, checked Twitter and realized they had narrowly escaped blue-dyed

liquid shot from water cannons.

"I was horrified by all the photos coming up that day," she said. "It made me feel afraid of joining the protests in future."

Soon, a clearer strategy emerged, borrowed from counterparts in Hong Kong. By the next day, Telegram groups had started to take shape, some with more than 100,000 members. Collectively, they voted on where to gather and shared advice on what to bring, mirroring online discussions held in Hong Kong's financial center last year.

Lalisa joined four such Telegram groups, and ditched her laptop in favor of a backpack stuffed with goggles, masks, water bottles, an umbrella and a helmet.

When authorities shut the transit system, she took a taxi as far as she could go with friends and walked the rest of the way. She was overcome with emotion when she saw thousands of others at the protest site, many of them young people like her, participating in a political movement for the first time. When the crowds

overwhelmed 4G connectivity, rendering apps useless, she switched to AirDrop to communicate.

Later that evening, upon hearing that water cannons were heading their way, Lalisa and friends rushed to a nearby 7-Eleven, where shopkeepers gave them packs of bottled water free. The protesters took the bottles to a makeshift medical station nearby, where first responders and an ambulance were on standby, and then posted information on the supplies on the Telegram groups and Instagram.

That time, however, the cannons never came.

"Maybe the police couldn't plan their operation because of our flash-mob strategy," she said.

'It is now their time'

Hong Kong activists, meanwhile, took to social media over the weekend with declarations of solidarity with the Thai protesters, encouraging them to continue following the fluid style of demonstrations they had pioneered. Observers see cooperation between the two sides as part of a growing movement called the "Milk Tea Alliance," a term coined by the demonstrators to reflect the shared commitment to democracy, a fondness for the brown-hued beverage and a deep suspicion of China.

There is now "open coordination between Hong Kong and Thailand, and a kind of 'protest-sharing' tactic," said James Buchanan, a lecturer at Bangkok's Mahidol University International College.

Several prominent activists in Hong Kong, including Joshua Wong, protested at the Thai Consulate on Monday, Buchanan pointed out, and Thais are helping to coordinate a campaign online for 12 Hong Kong activists detained in mainland China while fleeing to Taiwan. A Thai activist urged people to tweet the hashtags #save12hkyouths and #MilkTeaAlliance, so they would trend globally.

Since the weekend, protests have begun to grow outside the capital, spreading to the strongholds of "red shirt" country — more-rural areas where ousted prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra and his populist style of politics still maintain huge support. Thaksin's enduring popularity has destabilized Thai politics for decades, prompting promonarchy coups and sometimes bloody protests.

This time, there is no evidence he is behind the demonstrations, which are led by a youth movement.

Prayuth, the prime minister, said Monday that he had no plans to extend a state of emergency outside the capital.

Mayuree Fungfueng, 62, a core member of the red-shirt network in the northern city of Chiang Mai, said she is proud of the young demonstrators' resourcefulness. Her generation, she said, had "limited capacity and access to information."

"We were the grass roots, and we had limited resources," she said. "But the young people today can sustain themselves. They have resources and knowledge, so they can be their own leader."

"The time of our red-shirt generation is over," she added. "We will support them and back them up, but it is now their time."

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Paritta reported from Bangkok.

DIGEST

BOLIVIA

Morales's party claims win in presidential race

Evo Morales's party has claimed victory in a presidential election that appears to sharply shift Bolivia away from the conservative policies of the U.S.-backed interim government that took power after the leftist leader resigned and fled the country a year ago.

The leading rival of Morales's handpicked successor, Luis Arce, conceded defeat Monday, as did interim president Jeanine Áñez, a bitter Morales foe who had dropped out of the race while trailing badly in opinion polls.

No formal quick count of results from the Sunday vote has been released, but two independent surveys of select polling places showed Arce with a lead of about 20 percentage points over his closest rival — far more than

needed to avoid a runoff.

To win in the first round, a candidate needs more than 50 percent of the vote, or 40 percent with a lead of at least 10 percentage points. The independent counts showed Arce with a little over 50 percent of the vote and a roughly 20-point advantage over centrist former president Carlos Mesa, who acknowledged defeat. Officials said final results could take days.

Morales was barred from the race, and he faces prosecution on what are seen as trumped-up charges of terrorism if he returns home from exile in Argentina.

— Associated Press

NAGORNO-KARABAKH

Latest cease-fire frays amid reports of shelling

Reports of renewed shelling on Monday challenged the new cease-

fire in the conflict over the separatist territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, where fighting between Armenian and Azerbaijani forces has raged for more than three weeks.

Saturday's truce was the second attempt to try to end the fighting that has killed hundreds since Sept. 27, after clashes resumed in a conflict that has simmered for decades. A cease-fire brokered by Russia earlier this month quickly frayed as both sides accused each other of repeated violations.

Azerbaijan on Monday morning accused Armenian forces of firing at its positions in the Azerbaijani regions of Tovuz, Dashkesan and Goygol, which lie outside the conflict zone.

Azerbaijani officials also said three villagers and a reporter were wounded in the Agdam region of Azerbaijan, which they said was being shelled throughout the day, along with the Terter region.

The state-run Armenian Unified Infocenter said Azerbaijan had shelled the town of Martuni and villages in Nagorno-Karabakh overnight, and the Nagorno-Karabakh military said Azerbaijan resumed shelling in some areas.

Nagorno-Karabakh lies within Azerbaijan but has been under the control of ethnic Armenian forces backed by Armenia since a war there ended in 1994.

— Associated Press

French police conduct raids

after teacher's beheading: French police raided Islamic associations and foreigners suspected of extremist religious beliefs, police officials said, three days after history teacher Samuel Paty, 47, was beheaded outside his school in a Paris suburb by an 18-year-old of Chechen origin. Police shot the attacker dead. The teen had sought to avenge his victim's use of caricatures of the prophet

Muhammad in a class on freedom of expression. Muslims consider any depiction of the prophet blasphemous. Interior Minister Gérald Darmanin said that about 80 investigations were being conducted into online hate and that he was looking into whether to disband about 50 associations within the Muslim community.

Nigerian protesters storm

prison, free inmates: Nigeria's protests over police brutality turned violent when a crowd stormed a prison and freed inmates in Benin City. Local media reports said that as many as 200 prisoners may have escaped. Protesters also attacked police stations and police trucks elsewhere in the country. For more than two weeks, Nigeria has been rocked by youth demonstrations against police brutality. The protests began in response to a video showing a man being

beaten, apparently by members of the police Special Anti-Robbery Squad, known as SARS. In response to the protests, the government said it would disband the SARS unit, but the demonstrations have continued.

Pakistani police arrest son-in-

law of exiled former premier: Pakistani police briefly detained the son-in-law of exiled former prime minister Nawaz Sharif, accusing him of leading a crowd in a chant against the military at the tomb of the country's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Chanting political slogans at Jinnah's tomb is considered taboo. The arrest of Mohammad Safdar came after Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League opposition party joined protests against the government of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Safdar was freed after a court granted him bail, his party and family said.

— From news services

Key Palestinian official critically ill with covid-19

BY STEVE HENDRIX

JERUSALEM — Saeb Erekat, a top Palestinian leader who tested positive for the novel coronavirus this month, was placed on a ventilator Monday and is in critical condition at an Israeli hospital, the facility said in a statement.

Erekat, well known to diplomats as the Palestinians' chief negotiator and the leader most frequently quoted by Western media, was rushed from his West Bank home to a hospital in Tel Aviv on Sunday, then transferred to Jerusalem's Hadassah Ein Kerem Medical Center.

The 65-year-old has a history of respiratory illness and underwent a lung transplant in 2017. Erekat is also fighting a bacterial infection, the hospital said.

His daughter tweeted late Sunday that her father was stable in a coronary care unit, where he was receiving high flows of oxygen. But his condition worsened overnight, the hospital said.

"His situation is not good," his brother told Agence France-Presse.

Erekat was not the only high-profile Palestinian leader to contract the virus in recent weeks. Longtime activist and official Hanan Ashrawi tested positive for the coronavirus Oct. 11.

Erekat has played a central role in Palestinian politics and diplomacy for decades. Since the early 1990s, he has been a high-ranking member of or led negotiating teams in Madrid, Oslo and Washington and at Camp David in



Paramedics at the Jerusalem hospital where Saeb Erekat, a central figure in Palestinian diplomacy, was placed on a ventilator Monday.

Maryland.

Since 2015, Erekat has been the secretary general of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee. A member of the ruling Fatah party and a committed proponent of an independent Palestinian state, he is considered one of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas's closest allies.

"Saeb Erekat has been the central figure in Palestinian negotiations with Israel, or in decisions to stay out of such negotiations, for over two decades," said Dan Shapiro, former U.S. ambassador to Israel. "Outside of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas himself, there is no one who has had such influence on these

decisions."

Erekat was diagnosed with pulmonary fibrosis and traveled to the United States for a lung transplant three years ago. He made a nearly complete recovery and maintained a full professional schedule afterward.

"I feel as good as I've ever felt," he told a Washington Post reporter during a 2019 interview in Jericho, his hometown. Erekat spent the first weeks of his illness at his family home there.

The West Bank has seen more than 4,200 positive cases of the coronavirus, with an estimated death toll of more than 350. Unlike neighboring Israel, the Palestinian Authority declined to impose a second general lockdown;

infections in the territory began to climb after restrictions were lifted following the Ramadan holidays.

Palestinian officials have said they are hamstrung in clamping down on transmission of the virus because of the thousands of workers who cross back and forth to Israel every day.

In recent months, Erekat has been central to a pitched battle of wills between the Palestinian leadership and the government of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. In response to Netanyahu's avowed plans to annex Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the Palestinian Authority cut off long-standing cooperation with Israel on security and financial issues.

The loss of tax transfers has sparked a financial crisis in the territories, but the leadership refused to budge even after Netanyahu shelved annexation plans as part of a diplomatic accord with the United Arab Emirates.

Some Arab states hailed that deal as a breakthrough, but Erekat and Abbas doubled down on their decades-long insistence that no agreements should be signed until Israel withdraws from the West Bank and recognizes a Palestinian state.

"The question today is not about hardship for Palestinians," Erekat said at the time. "We have had hardship all our lives. We need to finish this. We need our independence. We need our freedom."

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Marc and Debra Tice hold photos of son Austin in 2017. U.S. and Syrian officials have reportedly discussed the missing journalist.

Report: U.S., Syria held secret talks in August

BY SARAH DADOUCH

Two senior U.S. officials visited Damascus in August for secret talks about the fate of missing American journalist Austin Tice, sanctions and the U.S. military presence in Syria, in rare high-level negotiations, according to a newspaper aligned with the Syrian government.

According to the report in Al Watan newspaper, U.S. Ambassador Roger Carstens, a special envoy for hostage affairs, and Kash Patel, a top White House counterterrorism adviser, met with Ali Mamlouk, the head of Syria's intelligence agency, in his office in the capital.

The visit, first reported by the Wall Street Journal, comes as the White House has been pressing Syria to release Tice, a freelance journalist abducted in Syria in 2012 and believed to be held there by the Syrian government or allied forces.

Citing unnamed sources, Al Watan said that the trip was not the first visit by high-level U.S. diplomats and that three similar visits to Damascus had taken place in past years. The newspaper stressed that, during the August visit, the Syrian government refused to discuss "kidnapped" Americans and sanctions until effective talks on U.S. withdrawal from Syria were underway.

American troops have been present in areas of northeastern Syria held by the U.S.-backed Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces as well as in eastern Syria, where the United States has a military base. Over the past few months, clashes have occurred in the northeast between U.S. troops

and Russian troops, which back Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.

A report by Russian-operated Sputnik last week said a new U.S. military base is being built in northeast Syria, sparking anger in Damascus. The U.S.-led coalition has said it is not building any new bases.

On Friday, the head of Lebanon's general security directorate, Maj. Gen. Abbas Ibrahim, met with U.S. hostage envoy Robert O'Brien in Washington, sources said. He was expected to raise the cases of Tice and Majd Kamalmaz, a psychotherapist from Arlington, Va., who was arrested shortly after he arrived in Damascus in 2017 to visit relatives.

Tice's parents, Marc and Debra Tice, welcomed the reports of discussions between U.S. and Syrian officials. "For years we have pushed for engagement between the US and Syrian governments to help bring our son safely home, so we hope recent reports are accurate. We are deeply grateful to everyone working for Austin's safe return, and his continued absence shows there is more to be done," the Tices said in a statement.

In March, President Trump said he was "working very hard with Syria" to free Tice and urged Damascus to work with the United States. "If you think about what we've done, we've gotten rid of the ISIS caliphate in Syria. We've done a lot for Syria," he said. "... So it would be very much appreciated if they would let Austin Tice out. Immediately."

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Carol Morello in Washington and Louisa Loveluck in Baghdad contributed to this report.

Trump says he will take Sudan off terrorism list

BY JOHN HUDSON AND MAX BEARAK

President Trump announced on Monday his intention to remove Sudan from a list of state sponsors of terrorism in a pre-election gambit that U.S. officials expect will lead to the country's recognition of Israel and payment of millions of dollars to the families of terrorism victims.

"GREAT news! New government of Sudan, which is making great progress, agreed to pay \$335 MILLION to U.S. terror victims and families," Trump said in a tweet as he traveled to Arizona for a campaign event.

The president added that Sudan would need to deposit the funds before it would be taken off the terrorism list.

In a response to the tweet, Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok thanked Trump and stressed that the designation had caused serious "harm" to Sudan.

Removing Sudan from the list is expected to provide a significant economic boost to the country. Since 1993, the designation has barred the government from international dollar transactions and thwarted investments and the country's ability to pay off interest-laden loans totaling tens of billions of dollars.

But the expected move carries risks for the fledgling government in Khartoum.

Talks nearly faltered in the past several weeks as Sudanese officials feared that a rushed recognition of Israel, without a large-enough economic relief package to sweeten the deal, could turn popular support against a precarious, unelected transitional government, which took power after Sudan's longtime autocratic ruler was overthrown last year.

As a result, the Monday announcement did not include any mention of Israel, which is unpopular in Sudan.

"At long last, JUSTICE for the American people and BIG step for Sudan!" Trump tweeted.

Officials expect Sudanese officials to announce the recognition of Israel at a later date.

Still, analysts described it as a watershed moment for a fragile government seeking to overcome its pariah status.

"This announcement has both huge symbolic and practical meaning to Sudan," said Cameron Hudson, a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council and former chief of staff to the State Department's special envoy to Sudan. "Practically, it removes a stigma that has deterred outside investment. It also frees up the international financial institutions and other commercial banks to reenter the country. This will move Sudan away from cash-based financing and through more diverse and reputable banking partners in the U.S. and Europe."

Some in Congress have worried that a deal would jeopardize compensation funds for the families of American victims of the terrorist attacks targeting the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the USS Cole in 2000. The victims' families are seeking a \$355 million settlement from Sudan because of its role in harboring the men who carried out the plots,

Democrats in Congress are holding up legislation that would restore Sudan's sovereign immunity, the legal doctrine that makes governments immune to civil suits or criminal prosecution. Sudan lost that immunity when it was put on the U.S. terrorism-sponsor list.

The delisting comes at a crucial moment of economic vulnerability for Sudan. Inflation has spiraled past 200 percent, and basic items including wheat and gas are in short supply. In some cases, lines at food stores and gas stations stretch for miles. Meanwhile, the worst flooding in a century has left more than half a million people homeless and destroyed a season of harvest. Pandemic-related border closures have dramatically reduced exports and driven up unemployment.

Much of Sudan's hinterland remains in low-level conflict, suppressing regional economies, and the country has still barely recovered from the economic shock of South Sudan's secession in 2011, which caused a sudden decline in oil revenue for the government in Khartoum.

Economic troubles, and bread lines in particular, served as the spark for street protests that swept Sudan in early 2019 and precipitated the military's ouster of Omar al-Bashir, who had led the country for 30 years and stands accused of war crimes and genocide by the International Criminal Court in addition to claims by his critics of ruinous economic mismanagement. (ICC representatives were in Sudan this week to discuss the possibility of trying Bashir without removing him from prison in Khartoum.)

Sudan's prime minister, formerly an economist and now head of a transitional civilian government that shares power with a council of generals, had been pushing through economic reforms. Last month, the International Monetary Fund announced a key step forward in that process: a year-long monitoring program that, once complete, could couple with the terrorism delisting as the basis for clearing all of Sudan's arrears to international lending institutions if the country's reforms were found to be sincere and fully implemented.

"Sudan's external debt is high and with long-standing arrears which severely limit access to external borrowing," Antoinette Sayeh, deputy managing director and acting chair of the IMF's executive board, said in a statement. "A strong track record of macroeconomic performance and implementation of reforms, together with a comprehensive strategy of arrears clearance and debt relief supported by Sudan's development partners, is required for addressing Sudan's high debt overhang."

The upcoming rapprochement with Israel represents a major reversal from the Bashir era. For decades, Sudan was one of Israel's staunchest opponents, and Bashir offered funding and arms to the Palestine Liberation Organization, Hamas and Hezbollah — part of the United States' reasoning for designating Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism. Sudan also harbored Osama bin Laden until 1996,

though it denies any role in the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. Many Sudanese say that because Bashir has been removed from office, their country should already have been taken off the terrorism list.

While both governments have sought to portray the two issues as separate, the normalization of ties with Israel had not been part of Hamdok's plan until American negotiators introduced it as part of a delisting deal. The issue remains hugely contentious in Sudan, where pro-Palestinian sentiment is strong, and groups from across the political spectrum have expressed displeasure, if not anger, with the unelected transitional government for allowing it into the

delisting process.

For that reason, some analysts criticized the Trump administration effort as self-serving and potentially reckless.

"Washington should already have delivered the kind of political and economic relief necessary for Sudan's make-or-break transition to succeed," said Zach Vertin, a nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institution. "Instead, the Trump administration held out, extorting a fragile democracy in the service of its own domestic political ends."

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Bearak reported from Nairobi.

ADVERTISEMENT

DEMOCRATS MUST WITHHOLD THEIR VOTE ON TRUMP'S LATE TERM NOMINEE JUST AS REPUBLICANS WITHHELD THEIR VOTE ON PRESIDENT OBAMA'S

IF THE SENATE DEMOCRATS LACK THE COURAGE AND THE PATRIOTISM TO WITHHOLD THEIR VOTE FOR A LATE TERM SUPREME COURT NOMINEE AS THE SENATE REPUBLICANS DID IN 2016, THEY WILL HAVE BETRAYED THOSE THAT VOTED THEN INTO OFFICE TO GIVE THEM THE POWERS TO DEFEND THEM AND WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS THOSE THAT THREW AWAY THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS THAT DEMOCRATS FOUGHT AND SOME DIED FOR AND POSSIBLY GAVE THE 250 YEAR OLD DEMOCRACY AWAY.

And why? To cater to Trump supporters in their state for their reelection. What is the value of their reelection if they throw away everything they said they believed in to get it?

THEY CAN WITHHOLD THEIR VOTE AND REFUSE TO PROVIDE A QUORUM IN COMMITTEE ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11, SENATE LEADER SCHUMER SAID: "DEMOCRATS WILL NOT SUPPLY THE QUORUM, PERIOD,"

We the progressives in the democratic base who have fought for these landmark cases

WILL HOLD SENATOR SCHUMER TO HIS WORD AND WE WILL HOLD EVERY DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE: SEN. LEAHY, SEN. DURBIN, SEN. WHITEHOUSE, SEN. KLOBUCHAR, SEN. COONS, SEN. BLUMENTHAL, SEN. HIRONO, SEN. BOOKER, & SEN. HARRIS. *We recall that he also said he would use all of his tools to delay or stop the Kavanaugh nomination but caved to pressure and used none of them that were provided to democratic voters to legislators to exercise on their behalf; instead he relied on the kindness of a republican, Susan Collins who in the end voted for Kavanaugh.*

Additionally, senate rules require 2 democrats in attendance to conduct the business of the senate judiciary committee; an additionally they can refuse to provide a quorum on the senate floor as was done throughout the 19th century and as was recommended by Senator Carl Levin for the impeachment vote for bill Clinton. That vote was held during an active military engagement in the Balkans and on the subject unrelated to presidential duties. The present nomination attempt is even less honorable and legitimate in that the republicans are making no pretense that they are violating their own proclamations they made as members of the senate judiciary committee not to bolder a confirmation hearing during an election and deprive the American people of their say in this lifetime appointment. Because it is a lifetime appointment on the most consequential judicial body in the nation, the right of the people to know the most about and
THE DUTY OF THE SENATORS TO ELICIT THAT INFORMATION FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS AT ITS ZENITH. *The nominee has refused to answer hypothetical questions and has refused to answer questions of fact and questions of law. What does that leave to make any determination of fitness for a lifetime appointment on the highest court? She has done everything she could do to subvert the advice and consent process. Democratic senators have contributed to and submissively complied with the subversion of the process by refusing to push back and insist on her providing the level of information the senate in its constitutional role and the American people require before a handing over to any individual such power in the American government. Senators have been complicit in this abdication of their duty since the Thomas and senator confirmation hearings. Additionally, the senate has shamed themselves already this year by leaving their safe spaces to cause a COVID-19 spreader event on the senate floor to give Mitch McConnell the quorum so that he could confirm overtly ideological judges some of whom had no recommendation from the American Bar Association. What a disgrace it would be if they repeated this irresponsible example of violating the CDC recommendations on the size of gatherings to do virtually the exact same thing. They would be a responsible for everyone including their own families they subsequently in fact if they become infected from other senators. In what universe can they call that leadership? If it is knowing, it falls closer to criminal liability. They commit the same violation by spending hours in the same senate room with two republican senators who were just diagnosed with the disease and who refuse to wear masks. They will have to explain it to their families that we the American people will have observed their irresponsible participation and legitimization of this 11th hour naked political act.*
The Trump triumvirate of Gorsuch, Kavanaugh and Cane with the compliance of Thomas and Alito we'll end:

- THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT** and protections for preexisting conditions
- A CLIMATE CHANGE RESPONSE**, and will assure:
 - the continued ejection of high levels of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere from coal plants known to cause black lung disease, high levels of asthma for those living downwind from these plants.
- a **WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE**,
- The ability to overturn **CITIZENS UNITED**, allowing:
 - unlimited amounts of corporate money
 - covering up dark money from unknown sources that can include foreign sources to disproportionately influence our elections.
- THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT**

ADDITIONALLY IT WOULD BE LEGISLATIVE MALPRACTICE FOR SENATE DEMOCRATS TO PRETEND THAT SHE WILL RECUSE HERSELF FROM THE FIRST VOTE WHEN TRUMP SEEKS TO STOP THE VOTING BEFORE THE VOTES ARE COUNTED AS HAPPENED IN THE YEAR 2000 (AND THAT HAPPENED BY A ONE VOTE MARGIN ON THE SUPREME COURT) OR TO RECUSE HERSELF FROM THE VOTE TO CHALLENGE THE PROVISION OF ELECTORS THAT DO NOT REPRESENT THE VOTE OF THEIR STATE.

Is this how to honor the legacy of Ruth Bader Ginsburg and John Lewis?

United Progressives
steve@sur-ranch.com renee@sur-ranch.com

The Washington Post | LIVE

America's HealthFuture

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON OUR HEALTH SYSTEMS

LAURIE GARRETT
Pulitzer Prize-winning Science Journalist

ERIC TOPOL, MD
*Director & Founder, Scripps Research
Translational Institute*

To watch video highlights from this event, visit: [**wapo.st/americashealthfutureoct2020**](https://wapo.st/americashealthfutureoct2020)

PRESENTING SPONSOR

Beijing fires back with criticism of U.S. climate policies

Says Trump’s ‘negative stance’ derails progress on international accord

BY STEVEN MUFSON

China on Monday delivered a diatribe against U.S. climate policies, saying that under President Trump, the United States “is widely viewed as a consensus-breaker and a troublemaker.”

Beijing’s Foreign Affairs Ministry blamed Trump’s “negative stance” and “retrogression on climate change” for undermining progress on an international climate accord. Trump, who plans to formally pull out of the Paris climate agreement the day after Election Day, has “seriously undermined the fairness, efficiency and effectiveness of global environmental governance,” the ministry said in a fact sheet.

The barrage from Beijing resembled the tit-for-tat criticism that China and the United States have traded on subjects such as human rights, trade and the expulsion of reporters and diplomats, but climate policies have been largely the exception. Not anymore.

China, the world’s biggest emitter of greenhouse gases, took aim at the United States, the second-biggest emitter, after the State Department on Sept. 25 issued its “China’s Environmental Abuses Fact Sheet,” which said that Beijing “threatens the global economy and global health by unsustainably exploiting natural resources and exporting its willful disregard for the environment through its One Belt One Road initiative.”

In the U.S. fact sheet, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said “too much of the Chinese Communist Party’s economy is built on willful disregard for air, land, and water quality. The Chinese people — and the world — deserve better.”

“This seems like a reminder that people who live in glass houses shouldn’t throw stones,” Jason Bordoff, director of Columbia University’s global energy center, said of China’s report. “We put out a statement attack-



A coal-fired heating complex in the Chinese city of Harbin. China took aim at the United States after the State Department said Beijing “threatens the global economy and global health by unsustainably exploiting natural resources and exporting” that attitude abroad.

ing their environmental record and they put out an even stronger one, and the Trump administration has given them a lot to work with.”

He said the dueling attacks were “a reminder of how strained the U.S.-China relationship is, and there’s going to need to be a lot of work to be done to allow for a constructive relationship on climate moving forward.”

The relationship between China and the United States has been deteriorating for years. China has seized islands in the South China Sea, deploying military forces to the disputed territories. It has detained in prison camps large numbers of Uighurs seen as possible threats. And it has pursued trade policies that have made it difficult for Ameri-

can companies to do business there.

During his administration, President Barack Obama managed to make climate change key to the relationship and succeeded in wooing Beijing to support broad policies to slow the growth in greenhouse gases and shift the Chinese economy toward renewable sources of energy.

The planet has already warmed by 1 degree Celsius since the late 1800s, and many parts of the world have already reached the 2 degree Celsius mark that scientists say should be the limit to prevent dire climate change.

On Monday, however, China’s report reiterated many of the weak but well-known points in U.S. climate policy. The United States has fallen behind China in

emissions, but its emissions per capita are twice as high as China’s, whose population is five times as big. China also criticized Trump for rolling back nearly 70 domestic policies — signaling the pullout from the Paris climate accord — and failing to honor the U.S. agreement to pay its share of Green Climate Fund contributions. It said the United States accounts for 95.7 percent of total international arrears to the fund.

The ministry also said that “due to the negative stance of the U.S.,” summit meetings of the world’s 20 largest economies had “failed to reach consensus on climate change for three consecutive years starting from 2017, and each time the ’19+1 approach was adopted as a compromise.”

“China’s fact sheet on U.S. damage to the environment is a slap in the face for a country that normally prides itself on its environmental leadership,” said Joanna Lewis, director of Georgetown University’s science, technology and international affairs program. “It demonstrates how the U.S. has lost almost all of its moral high ground when it comes to engaging with China and other emerging economies on the environment and climate change in particular.”

She said, “While China’s environmental record is highly problematic, the country has made impressive gains in many areas while the current U.S. administration continues to roll back many hard-won environmental protection laws.”

Beijing won praise internationally in September when it announced that its greenhouse gas emissions would peak in the year 2030 and that it would reach net-zero emissions for the entire economy by 2060.

The State Department fact sheet, however, criticized China’s dams on the Mekong River, marine debris, plastic product waste, illegal logging, mercury emissions and air quality.

China “has been the world’s largest annual greenhouse gas (GHG) emitter since 2006,” the State Department report said. “China’s total emissions are twice that of the United States and nearly one third of all emissions globally.”

China replied in its fact sheet that between 1751 and 2010, emissions from the U.S. energy and industrial sectors accounted for 27.9 percent of the global total and three times as much as China.

Sarah O. Ladislav, director of the energy security and climate change program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said that the Chinese statement “will irk the Trump administration but not provoke them too much because climate change is not a high-priority issue for this administration.”

“The U.S. and China share the same challenge — some things they do are great for climate and other things are damaging,” Ladislav said. She said the United States was “the engine of global innovation, but at the federal level, it fails to stay true to its commitment when political leadership changes. China has set ambitious targets for itself and is a clean-energy manufacturing leader, but it is also a big source of global emissions both at home and through its investments overseas and is not always transparent about its behavior.”

Pete Ogden, a vice president at the United Nations Foundation and former climate expert during the Obama administration, said, “When it comes to the critical and urgent climate and environmental threats that the world is facing, this diplomatic energy of the U.S. and China should be focused on solutions, not recriminations.”

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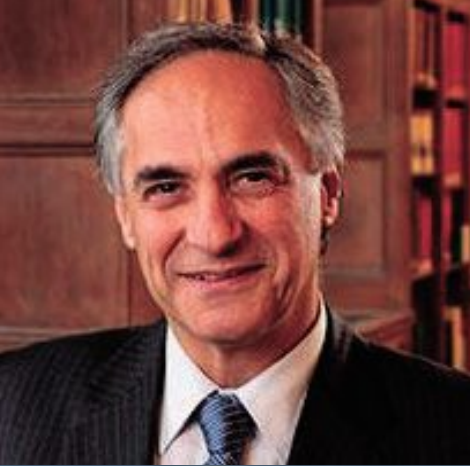
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CONTENT FROM KNIGHT FOUNDATION



KAREN KORNBLUH
Director, Digital Innovation & Democracy Initiative and Sr Fellow, German Marshall Fund

Turkey accuses man of spying for United Arab Emirates

Arrest highlights growing divide between Middle Eastern rivals

BY KAREEM FAHIM

ISTANBUL — Turkey’s intelligence agency has detained a Jordanian citizen suspected of spying for the United Arab Emirates, a Turkish official said, in a move that highlights a rivalry between the two governments marked by intrigue and intensifying public acrimony.

The suspect, Ahmed al-Astal, 45, is originally Palestinian and had been working as a journalist. He had confessed to working for the UAE and was expected to appear in court this week, according to the Turkish official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss intelligence matters. Astal’s work, overseen by Emirati handlers whom he said he knew by nicknames, included reporting on Turkish political developments and keeping tabs on Arab dissidents living in exile, the official said.

Turkey and the UAE have competed for regional influence over most of the past decade, promoting opposing ideological visions that have divided the Middle East. In particular, they have sparred over Turkey’s support for political Islamist movements, which the UAE views as a regional threat. The two governments have also squared off in Libya, providing military support to opposing sides in the civil war.

The arrest marks the third time in the past two years Turkey has detained someone suspected of spying for the UAE. Two men who were arrested in April 2019 were said to be collecting information on Palestinian factions in Turkey, according to local media reports. One of the men, Zaki Hasan, died while in custody, in what the government called an apparent suicide.

News of Astal’s arrest Friday was first reported by the Reuters news agency, which did not reveal his name, and came just days after press accounts suggested Turkey was actively conducting its own aggressive surveillance of perceived enemies abroad. In recent



The headquarters of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization in Istanbul, shown in July. A Turkish official said the agency arrested Ahmed al-Astal, 45, a Jordanian citizen who had been working as a journalist. The official said he confessed to working for the UAE.

cent weeks, the Austrian press has reported on the arrest of a Turkish citizen in Vienna who turned himself in to the police and said he worked for Turkish intelligence and had been ordered to shoot a Kurdish Austrian politician. Turkey has denied that the Turkish man ever worked for its intelligence agency.

A media spokesman for the UAE did not reply to a message seeking comment on the allegations against Astal.

Astal lived on Turkey’s Black Sea coast and disappeared in late September, according to his family and colleagues, who feared he had been kidnapped and had launched a public campaign to

persuade the Turkish authorities to investigate his disappearance. A brother, Hussam al-Astal, said in an interview that he was not

Rather, he said, Ahmed was considered a dissident by the UAE because of his support for the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood

shared with The Washington Post suggested Ahmed al-Astal — said to be known to Emirati handlers as Abu Layla — had been coerced into espionage more than a decade ago. He had initially turned down an offer to work for Emirati intelligence in 2008 but relented after failing background security checks when he applied for a job, the summary said.

After moving to Turkey, he “concentrated on Turkey’s relations with the Muslim world, foreign policy initiatives and domestic politics,” the summary said. He was also tasked with establishing whether the government of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, which survived a coup attempt in

2016, was vulnerable to another one. And he “passed information to the UAE about Turkey-based Arab journalists and dissidents, who may be vulnerable to recruitment efforts by Emirati intelligence,” the summary said, including recordings of meetings with Brotherhood-linked dissidents.

On at least one occasion, in the spring of 2016, an Emirati intelligence official visited Astal in Turkey, but otherwise he communicated with his superiors remotely, using chat programs as well as custom messaging software his handlers had installed on Astal’s computer, according to the summary. After initially threatening his livelihood, Astal’s handlers paid him approximately \$400,000 over the period he was in their employ, it said.

The summary did not say how Astal came to the attention of Turkish intelligence. The Turkish official said Astal was on the run for a few weeks before he was captured.

The threat Arab dissidents face in Turkey came into sharp relief after the killing of Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi journalist critical of his country’s government, in Istanbul by Saudi agents in 2018. But even as Turkey has sought to highlight domestic interference by its overseas adversaries, its own pursuit of enemies abroad has come under growing scrutiny.

The latest episode, in Austria, unfolded after a 53-year-old Turkish national named Feyyaz Ozturk turned himself in at a police station in Vienna in September. He said he was a Turkish intelligence agent with orders to shoot Aygul Berivan Aslan, a former Kurdish politician who was critical of the Turkish government, according to a police report.

Ozturk’s confession was first reported by Zack Zack, an online news outlet, and the New York Times.

Turkey’s ambassador to Austria, Ozan Ceyhun, told Turkey’s state-run Anadolu news agency that Ozturk “does not have any relationship with Turkish intelligence and my country.”

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Hazem Balousha in Gaza and Loveday Morris in Berlin contributed to this report.

The Washington Post | LIVE

Race in America

Creating Change

Alicia Garza

Co-Founder, Black Lives Matter

Hosted by The Post’s Robin Givhan on Tuesday, Oct. 20 at 2:00 p.m. ET

To receive a live stream reminder for this event, visit wapo.st/aliciagarza



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How does Google fail us? Try these searches, and find out.

**Geoffrey Fowler**

Let's Google together. Open a Web browser and search for T-shirts. I'll wait.

Is the first thing you see a search result? I'm not talking about the stuff labeled Ads or Maps. On my screen, the actual result is not in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh or even eighth row of stuff. It's buried on row nine.

Googling didn't used to require so much . . . scrolling. On some searches, it's like Where's Waldo but for information.

Without us even realizing it, the Internet's most-used website has been getting worse. On too many queries, Google is more interested in making search lucrative than a better product for us.

There's one reason it gets away with this, according to a recent congressional investigation: Google is so darn big. An impending antitrust lawsuit from the U.S. Justice Department is expected to make a similar point.

How does Google's alleged monopoly hurt you? Today, 88 percent of all searches happen on Google, in part because contracts make it the default on computers and phones. But whether Google is actually fetching you good information can be hard to see. First, Googling is easy and free, which blinds everyone a bit. Second, we don't have a great alternative for broad Web searches — Microsoft's Bing doesn't have enough data to compete well. (This is the problem of monopolies in the information age.)

Over the past two decades, Google has made changes in drips rather than big makeovers. To see how search results have changed, what you'd need is a time machine. Good news: We have one of those!

The Internet Archive's Wayback Machine stored some Google search results over the years. When we look back, a picture emerges of how Google increasingly fails us. There's more space dedicated to ads that look like search results. More results start with answer "snippets" — sometimes incorrect — ripped from other sites. And increasingly, results point you back to Google's own properties such as Maps and YouTube, where it can show more ads and gather more of your data. There are lots of times Google

is still darn useful. I believe the company when it says it makes over 3,000 improvements every year, such as searching with your camera or just humming to find a song. But it's also true that Google can bury better results when doing so helps it make money or prioritize another Google service. It can act like a bad personal shopper who organizes your wardrobe by whatever T-shirts earn the highest commission.

Google disputes my review. "Comparing the experience you get with Google today to the quality of Google in 1999 is like comparing high speed WiFi to dial-up Internet," spokeswoman Lara Levin emailed. She said it's incorrect to define results as unpaid "blue links" to other websites. "What has changed is how we organize the information, in a way that's more modern and that hundreds of thousands of tests each year tell us that people find useful."

Members of Congress, regulators and legal experts will battle in the weeks ahead over the nuances of antitrust law. Fortunately, to see for yourself how Google puts profits over people, all you have to do is join me on three eye-opening searches.

Search 1: 'T-shirts'

Google is, quite literally, a bad personal shopper. Take, for example, Google results for T-shirts from the Wayback Machine in 2000 and 2013 alongside what I see in 2020.

We all know Google has ads. But back when Google first won us over, it had fewer ads, and they were generally marked with a colorful background. Today, my T-shirts result is buried under four ads, as well as nine shopping ad results over on the right side. There's also a giant map with links — we'll talk about the proliferation of this kind of stuff in a moment.

Relative to 2000, today you have to scroll six times as far down the page to get to the first real, unpaid link to an outside website.

T-shirts aren't the only search that requires excessive scrolling. Cognitive psychologist Pete Meyers, who analyzes Google results for marketing company Moz, studied 10,000 searches to see how far down the page blue-link search results land. In 2013, the average real search result link began at 375 pixels down the page. In 2020, it had dropped



GABBY JONES/BLOOMBERG NEWS

The Google search page in July. To learn more about Google's evolution from oracle to advertiser, visit wapo.st/GoogleEvolution.

down to 616 pixels because of ads and all the other info Google puts on top of its "organic" links to other sites.

The reality is, whatever's on top is most likely to be the business that thrives — and that business will have to pass along to us, its customers, the cost of the Google ads that put it on top.

It's true that back in 2000, Google's actual search results for T-shirts weren't as good — CDNow and even Apple (the computer company) were among the sites that made it to the top five. But remember: Shopping-related searches were less common in 2000. And that doesn't excuse Google making it so hard to get to its actual results today.

With a time machine, we can also see how Google keeps making ads harder to spot. Ginny Marvin, editor of the trade publication Search Engine Land, has been keeping tabs for years over what she calls the "blurring of ads and organic listings." According to her archive, first ads had color backgrounds and a label, then they shifted to white with color labels. Google did remove text-based ads on the right side of results in 2016. But today, Google places up to four ads on top of desktop Web searches, using a small black "Ad" label that disappears in the context of a busy page.

"Squint or you'll click it," is how Silicon Valley publication TechCrunch described Google's latest labeling shift, earlier this year, which removed a green box around the word Ad and shifted it up.

Levin said that Google changed the design "to avoid clutter" and that in its own studies, people were better able to distinguish ads and results with the new design.

Believe it or not, Google also thinks we don't mind the ads — and that they're actually useful. Said Levin: "We have an incentive to only show ads when it's valuable to people." She didn't answer when I asked what percentage of queries now have ads, and what percentage of the search results they take up.

Good luck if you just wanted to search for the most popular T-shirts. Google is working harder to make sure it gets paid for whatever T-shirt you might eventually buy.

Search 2: 'question one nevada'

This search result you won't actually find now because it was so egregious Google fixed it in September.

Question One is an initiative on the November ballot that would change how Nevada manages higher education. A few weeks ago, Elliot Anderson, a former state lawmaker who helped get Question One on the ballot, noticed that Googling "question one Nevada" generated a box at the top of the results that began: "Vote 'no' on Question 1."

How on earth did Google results end up telling people how to vote?

Google has been shifting away from what co-founder Larry Page said was its mission back when it went public in 2004: "to get you out of Google and to the right place as fast as possible." Now, instead of providing ten blue links to sources of information, Google wants to give what it calls direct answers, which it says are more convenient.

This information often comes in the form of "featured snippets," which are chosen by its software and borrowed from sources it thinks are authoritative.

Sometimes when you search,

you do just want an answer — especially when you're using a smart speaker. But who died and made Google the ultimate arbiter of knowledge? Google doesn't always snip correctly, like with Question One. "The information was accurate and came from an official website, but the snippeted portion of the page only represented one side of a civic topic, so we took action under our relevant policy to remove that snippet," Levin said.

(Anderson, for one, said he flagged the error repeatedly using the "feedback" link on the page and heard nothing. Google fixed it after it was flagged to a Google employee on Twitter.)

It's not hard to find other examples where Google snips strangely or borrows from not-so-authoritative sources. Search for "How do I check my Krispy Kreme Gift Card balance," and you get information from a site selling gift cards, rather than Krispy Kreme's own site, which has the real answer and a useful link.

Other direct answers that just point you back to Google are also pushing the normal blue-link results down the page. These days, search results can also start with YouTube videos, other suggested searches — or, in cases like our earlier T-shirts search, a big Google Map.

A recent study by investigative nonprofit the Markup found that of 15,000 recent popular queries, Google devoted 41 percent of the first page of mobile search results to Google itself, including its own sites and direct answers. (Levin told the Markup that its study was built on a "nonrepresentative sample of searches.")

There are times I find a Google Map or YouTube video at the top of a search to be helpful. The problem is, Google also has a financial motivation to keep us from clicking away to other sources. As the Markup pointed out, Google makes five times as much revenue from ads on its own properties as it does on ads it places elsewhere.

Search 3: 'pediatricians arlington va'

Google's conflict of interest can lead us to make bad choices. When you search for pediatricians, Google tops the results with a big Google Map.

On my map, Google calls out three doctors' offices. Are these the best or most popular ones in the area? Look closer: Two of them get a sub-4-star rating and

have fewer than 20 reviews.

If I scroll down the Google results page and click on reviews site Zocdoc, I find listings for a lot more pediatricians, some of whom have more than 200 reviews — and much higher ratings. Online reviews on any site can sometimes be fake, but why is Google always putting its own first?

Searching for a doctor is a higher-stakes version of a problem that afflicts Google searches for flights, translations, restaurants and other local information. Even our T-shirts search popped up a Google Map with listings for local stores (where I couldn't actually buy T-shirts online) ahead of links to other websites.

The technical term for this is search "preferencing." How well would Google's mediocre doctor reviews do in search results where Google doesn't have its thumb on the scale?

Google says people make more than 20 million contributions per day to its Maps reviews. I left one last year after my dentist's office begged me to do so, in the hopes it would finally show up in Google search.

Levin said Google results are "designed to return the most relevant and helpful results for a given query across many dimensions. Assuming that a site with more reviews or listings is automatically better is a flawed premise."

Congress said Google's practice is dangerous, writing on page 188 of its report that it has "the effect of privileging Google's own inferior services while demoting competitors' offerings."

Google's ability to push its own products has quietly reshaped swaths of the economy. As my colleague Rachel Lerman recently wrote, since launching Google Flights and Google Hotels nearly a decade ago, Google has come to command the online travel market. Never mind that Google's travel search, like its listings for pediatricians, isn't considered tops: It didn't even make Frommer's 2020 list of the best airfare search sites.

That's how monopolies extract their price. Google is playing fast and loose with the whole idea of search engine, making sure the simplest and easiest-to-access results are either paid ads or information that keeps you on Google. Either way, Google wins — and, more often than we realize, we lose.

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DIGEST

AIRLINE INDUSTRY

TSA says it tallied 1 million passengers

The virus-ravaged airline industry reached a milestone Sunday, carrying more than 1 million passengers for the first time in seven months.

U.S. airport security checkpoints processed 1,031,505 people, or 39.6 percent of the equivalent day in 2019, according to a tally by the Transportation Security Administration.

Several of the busiest days since mid-March have occurred in the past two weeks, and passenger loads have been gradually increasing. But that's little relief for an industry reeling from the coronavirus pandemic. If Sunday's level were maintained for an entire year, it would roll the industry back to levels last seen 36 years ago, says trade group Airlines for America.

The steep drop in fliers has prompted billions of dollars of losses and tens of thousands of

job cuts or voluntary furloughs as impacts reverberate across the aviation industry. A federal aid package that had covered the costs of airline payrolls and forbid job cuts expired on Oct. 1.

Sunday was the busiest day for air travel since March 16, when 1.26 million people passed through domestic screening, according to the TSA.

Airlines' loads fell by more than 417 million passengers since the virus hit compared to the same period in 2019, a drop of about 75 percent, the TSA said.

— Bloomberg News

WORLD ECONOMY

Survey: Half of global workers fear job loss

More than half of workers around the world are worried about losing their jobs, according to a survey measuring labor-market insecurity caused by the coronavirus crisis.

The poll of 12,430 people for the World Economic Forum



BILAWAL ARBAB/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

A laborer in Peshawar, Pakistan, makes beds for sale at his workshop. Pakistan's economy has suffered in recent months because of the coronavirus pandemic, with its inflation rate reaching the double digits, according to Al Jazeera. The country is experiencing protests against Prime Minister Imran Khan.



UNDERSTANDING WHAT'S IMPORTANT:

Helping communities grow.

Working to better our community is a goal shared by both the African Heritage Economic Initiative (AHEI) and M&T Bank. Part of the initiative's mission is to eliminate food deserts in the inner city. M&T recognized this and donated a piece of land for the AHEI to build their first urban garden. Since then, so much good has flourished. Neighbors are cultivating relationships and working together to distribute fresh food throughout the city. This garden represents so much more than growing food. It's about neighbors helping neighbors — and we're proud to be a part of it. [To see more of this story, visit \[mtb.com/whatsimportant\]\(https://www.mtb.com/whatsimportant\).](https://www.mtb.com/whatsimportant)

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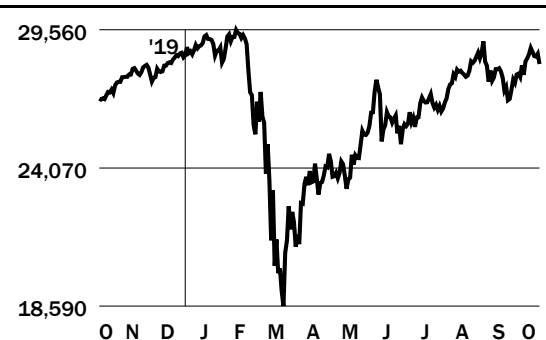
28,195.42

1D % Change

-1.4%

YTD % Change

-1.2%



Dow Jones 30 Industrials

Company	Close	1D % Chg	Chg % YTD	Company	Close	1D % Chg	Chg % YTD
3M Co	169.55	-0.8	-3.8	J&J	144.32	-2.6	-0.9
AmerExpCo	102.47	-2.3	-17.7	JPMorgan	99.80	-1.7	-28.4
Amgen Inc	230.71	-2.1	-4.3	McDonald's	226.00	-1.5	14.2
Apple Inc	115.98	-2.6	58.0	Merck & Co	78.67	-1.5	-13.7
Boeing	167.11	-0.1	-48.7	Microsoft	214.22	-2.5	35.8
Caterpillr	167.53	-0.7	13.6	NIKE Inc	127.43	-0.4	25.8
Chevron	71.28	-2.2	-40.7	Prcter& Gmbl	141.91	-1.7	13.4
Cisco Sys	39.30	-2.1	-17.9	salsfrcm	255.01	-1.4	56.8
Coca-Cola	49.62	-0.8	-10.5	Travelers Cos I	111.84	-1.3	-18.1
Dow Inc	48.84	-0.9	-10.5	UntdHlthGr	324.22	-1.7	10.3
Gldman Schs	205.69	-0.3	-10.7	Verzn Comm	57.30	-1.3	-6.8
Hnywll Int	171.59	-1.9	-3.1	Visa Inc	196.97	-1.6	4.9
Home Depot	283.73	-1.4	30.3	Walgreens	36.97	-1.2	-37.3
IBM	125.52	-0.3	-6.4	Walmart	142.95	-1.2	20.6
Intel Corp	54.58	0.8	-8.8	Walt Disney	124.23	-2.0	-14.2

COMMODITIES

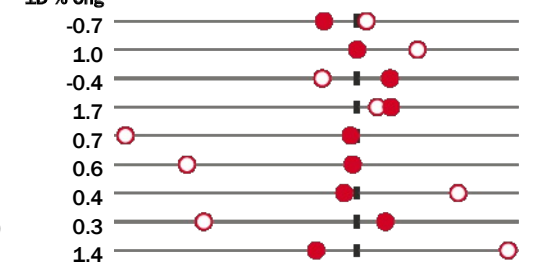
Futures	Close	1D % Chg	Futures	Close	1D % Chg
Copper	3.09	0.6	Silver	24.70	1.2
Crude Oil	40.83	-0.1	Sugar	14.72	2.0
Gold	1911.70	0.3	Soybean	10.54	0.4
Natural Gas	2.80	0.8	Wheat	6.27	0.3
Orange Juice	1.16	1.3	Corn	4.05	0.8

Exchange-Traded (Ticker)

1D % Chg

\$476

\$1345



NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX

Close

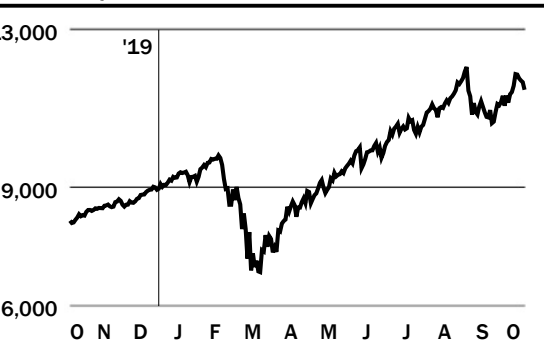
11,478.88

1D % Change

-1.7%

YTD % Change

27.9%



RATES

Bank Prime	30-Yr Fixed mtg		10-yr note Yield:
3.25%	3.04%		0.77%
Federal Funds	15-Yr Fixed mtg		5-yr note Yield:
0.25%	2.57%		0.33%
LIBOR 3-Month	1-Yr ARM		2-yr note Yield:
0.22%	2.97%		0.15%
Consumer Rates	5Yr CD Natl		6-month bill Yield:
Money Market Natl 0.22	0.62		0.11%
6Mo CD Natl 0.30	New Car Loan Natl 4.13		
1Yr CD Natl 0.44	Home Equity Loan Natl 4.91		

Currency Exchange

EU €	Japan ¥	Britain £	Brazil R\$	Canada \$	Mexico \$
0.85	105.42	0.77	5.61	1.32	21.20

INTERNATIONAL STOCK MARKETS

Markets	Close	Daily % Chg	YTD % Chg
Americas			
BRAZIL IBOVESPA INDEX	98657.70	0.4	+14.7%
S&P/TSX COMPOSITE INDEX	16274.07	-1.0	
S&P/BMV IPC	37685.74	-0.5	
Europe			
STXE 600 (EUR) Pr	366.81	-0.2	+22%
CAC 40 INDEX	4929.27	-0.1	
DAX INDEX	12854.66	-0.4	
FTSE 100 INDEX	5884.65	-0.6	
Asia Pacific			
S&P/ASX 200 INDEX	6229.38	0.9	+16.1%
CSI 300 INDEX	4755.49	-0.8	
HANG SENG INDEX	24542.26	0.6	
NIKKEI 225	23671.13	1.1	

STANDARD & POOR'S

Close

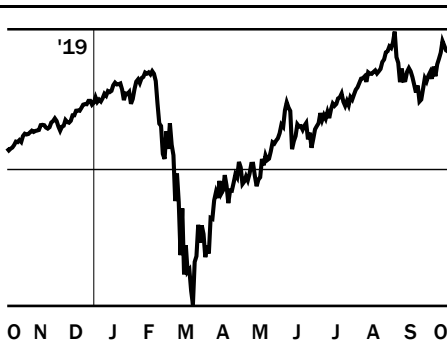
3,426.92

1D % Change

-1.6%

YTD % Change

6.1%



S&P 500 Industry Group Snapshot

Industry Group	Daily % Chg	-86.8%	Chg % 1Yr	+86.8%
Airlines	0.9			
Auto Components	0.9			
Energy Equipment & Svcs	0.1			
Power Product & Enrgy Trdr	0.0			
Water Utilities	-0.1			
Diversified Consumer Svcs	-7.3			
Health Care Technology	-3.0			
Media	-2.7			
Computers & Peripherals	-2.4			
Oil, Gas, Consumable Fuel	-2.3			

Gainers and Losers from the S&P 1500 Index

Company	Close	1D % Chg	Company	Close	1D % Chg
OraSure Technologies	15.94	15.4	Gulfpport Energy Corp	0.23	-16.5
Endo International	5.64	13.3	AmerEqInvstLifeHldC	27.49	-14.9
Trinseo SA	33.12	8.5	Penn National Gaming	64.84	-8.6
Western Digital Corp	40.92	7.9	MEDNAX Inc	13.65	-8.3
Dave & Buster's Ent	17.36	7.4	Exterrnan Corp	4.33	-8.1
Cinemark Inc	8.39	6.7	Ebix Inc	19.21	-8.0
Cheesecake Factory	32.30	6.0	DiversifiedHlthTrst	3.22	-7.3
Pitney Bowes Inc	6.44	5.6	Spectrum Pharma	3.78	-7.1
QuinStreet Inc	16.90	5.5	Clearwater Paper	37.16	-7.1
Green Plains Inc	16.81	5.3	Par Pacific Inc	6.77	-7.0
CIT Group Inc	26.33	5.3	United Insurance	5.10	-6.2
ADTRAN Inc	11.41	4.9	KAR Auction Services	15.94	-6.0
GameStop Corp	13.91	4.5	Coherus Biosciences	17.08	-5.9
Fluor Corp	11.39	4.5	Nordstrom Inc	12.17	-5.9
Kontoor Brands Inc	29.99	4.4	SabraHealthCareREIT	13.70	-5.1
Hawaiian Inc	13.89	4.2	Papa John's Intl	77.33	-5.1
United Airlines Inc	35.50	3.9	AmerEagleOutfitters	14.23	-5.1
Movado Group Inc	11.40	3.8	Matador Resources Co	8.16	-5.0
Skechers USA Inc	34.35	3.8	Allscripts Hlth Sol	10.52	-5.0
Cree Inc	73.93	3.7	Marten Transport Ltd	16.13	-4.9

Data and graphics by: Bloomberg

Note: Bank prime is from 10 major banks. Federal Funds rate is the market rate, which can vary from the federal target rate. LIBOR is the London Interbank Offered Rate. Consumer rates are from Bankrate. All figures as of 4:30 p.m. New York time.



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S0141 (Ed)

One potential pandemic upside: Performance reviews are getting simpler

BY JENA MCGREGOR

As the pandemic wore on this spring, Christine Carrillo, the chief executive of Butlr Health, a small online start-up that matches people with therapists, decided to postpone the remaining performance reviews scheduled for her employees this year — and probably next year, too.

“The added pressure and unnecessary stress given to reviews right now with everything else — it just feels like a waste of time,” she said. Instead, she meets with each of her seven employees bi-weekly for informal check-ins, Carrillo said.

The pandemic has forced more companies to reevaluate their performance reviews, long the bane of employees and their managers. The shift has accelerated a trend toward more frequent feedback and greater focus on career development.

Some are postponing — at least for now — the time-consuming and cumbersome ritual of corporate America. Others are attempting to simplify the process as they weigh how to evaluate employees facing unprecedented upheaval and working from home until next summer — or longer.

Carrillo says she’s not sure she will ever bring back the formal review process. “I’m always an advocate for removing things if they don’t work,” she said. “If we don’t have one next year and that goes well, we might not add it back.”

But some experts worry employers aren’t doing enough to change the way they evaluate employees at a time when many, particularly working parents — and disproportionately mothers — are facing mounting burdens.

“The pandemic has unleashed an enormous shock, but that’s not getting reflected in the way so many companies are thinking about performance reviews,” Marianne Cooper, a senior research scholar at the Stanford VMware Women’s Leadership Innovation Lab, said in an email.

Two recent surveys, while not comprehensive, provide a small snapshot into how some companies have reacted to the crisis. About 30 percent of companies said they adjusted their performance evaluations to account for



A woman works in a home office in Bern, Switzerland, on Aug. 22. Work-from-home adjustments and other pandemic-related challenges have led companies to look at how they evaluate their employees, with many firms deciding to postpone or redesign the process.

challenges created by the pandemic, and 5 percent had put reviews on hold or canceled them, according to a survey of 317 employers by McKinsey & Co. and LeanIn.org. Another survey of 1,330 human resources officials, by Aon, a consulting and insurance firm, found 47 percent had made changes to their employees’ performance goals or were considering them.

Several big tech companies did make changes this year to their performance evaluations.

For the first half of 2020, Facebook did not give out individual performance ratings and used a formula to calculate bonuses that were above the standard target — but is returning to its typical process for the second half of the year. Google combined its usual two review periods into one this fall and will rate employees against revised expectations. Box, the file-sharing service, says

it is encouraging more regular feedback between employees and their managers and is having just one formal review cycle this year, rather than two.

Companies such as Goldman Sachs, one of Wall Street’s oldest and largest banks, say they are trying to make the review process more clear.

“The dynamics of today’s challenges underscore the need for more transparency,” CEO David Solomon wrote in a memo.

Managers will meet with employees three times a year, formalizing a process that was only encouraged before. The bank is also disclosing for the first time more about how performance ratings — from “exceeds expectations” to “partially meets expectations” — are distributed among employees.

In a year of Zoom meetings and work-from-home life adjustments, companies’ traditional

methods of observing employees’ performance have been upended, and their evaluation process is laden with pandemic-era challenges.

But human resources experts also say there’s a potential upside: Remote work naturally forces more scheduled check-ins between bosses and workers, which could have a lasting impact.

“If more people are working remotely, they will be checking in weekly with their managers, and I think it could diminish the need for the annual performance review,” said Brooke Green, who leads the employee rewards practice at Aon.

Some companies are focused on simplifying time-consuming evaluations, said Josh Bersin, a longtime human resources analyst. “The continuous refrain is, the process we were doing before the pandemic was very bureaucratic. All those hours spent talk-

ing in conference rooms — we don’t have time for any of that,” he said.

“For all the years I’ve been studying this, everyone has been trying to simplify performance management,” Bersin said. “Now they’re doing it because they have to.”

After the novel coronavirus struck, human resources leaders at Anheuser-Busch InBev knew they wanted to streamline their individual reviews, a career development process that traditionally lasted six months and involved many time-consuming “calibration” meetings.

“Why are we spending so much time on a process where there’s a lot of bureaucracy behind it?” said Marianela Comino, global director of talent management at AB InBev.

The company briefly considered postponing the reviews this year, Comino said, but decided

not to after receiving a high response rate for its “360-degree” reviews — in which workers are evaluated not only by their managers but peers and direct reports. It showed how much employees still wanted feedback, Comino said.

Anheuser-Busch InBev decided to focus on simplifying the process instead, which included shortening it to 2½ months.

The changes, Comino said, will be permanent. “Everything we change will be for good,” she said.

With many employees expected to continue working from home well after the pandemic ends, corporations may be left with a split workforce that will pose many unique challenges, human resource experts say.

Managers are more likely to positively acknowledge people who are in the office, while remote workers are more likely to get corrective feedback, said Brian Kropp, vice president of research at Gartner.

Companies must prevent this, he said, or “people that decide to come back and work from the office are going to be career advantaged compared to people who continue to work remote.”

Twitter says it’s already trying to guard against any unfair bias.

When it sent its 5,200 workers home in May, the tech giant suspended all reviews for the duration of 2020. The decision, according to human resources chief Jennifer Christie, was made after she heard from struggling parents who felt they could not keep up. Christie realized the pandemic created such divergent circumstances among employees that it would not be fair to compare their performance in a formal evaluation.

Since the company has announced a permanent work-from-home policy, Christie said, Twitter is rethinking its entire performance review system so it will not be biased against people who spend more time outside the office.

“We want to create that parity with people who work from home, so that if you work from home, you’re not a second-class citizen,” Christie said.

jena.mcgregor@washpost.com

Elizabeth Dwoskin contributed to this report.

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Amid scramble for new aid, the Fed is sitting on billions

Officials say funds can’t be repurposed without Congress’s approval

BY RACHEL SIEGEL AND JEFF STEIN

The White House and Congress are fighting over an economic relief bill, and odds appear low they will reach a deal before the November election. Yet hundreds of billions of dollars already set aside by lawmakers to support the Federal Reserve’s emergency aid programs may never be touched, illustrating the unevenness of Congress’s bailout decisions from earlier this year.

In March, Congress allotted \$454 billion to the Treasury Department to support the central bank’s emergency lending programs, including those for struggling businesses and local governments. Of that pot, \$195 billion has been specifically committed to cover any losses the Fed might take, including through loans that companies fail to repay. Seven months into the crisis, the remaining \$259 billion still has not been committed to any of the Fed’s specific programs or for any other purpose, and it is unlikely that it will be anytime soon.

The fate of this money — and its inability to address remaining cracks in the economy — shows the surprising limits of the nearly \$3 trillion in emergency aid Congress approved early in the pandemic. Federal Reserve and Treasury Department officials say there are ways the money could be repurposed to more directly reach businesses and workers but say they cannot do so without congressional approval. White House officials tried redirecting the money without congressional approval but were told by administration attorneys that they could not do so legally, according to two people who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe internal conversations.

“It’s a total mismatch of resources,” said Ernie Tedeschi, a former Treasury Department economist and head of fiscal analysis at Evercore ISI, an investment banking advisory firm.

Now, as many companies continue to lay off workers or close altogether, the fate of these funds looms large while millions of Americans are barely getting by and are holding out hope for Congress and the White House to cut a deal. Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) have been in talks for days, but President Trump keeps changing the terms of what he is willing to offer.

Republican lawmakers have expressed openness to pass legislation to immediately repurpose these funds, but Pelosi has rejected that approach in favor of a more comprehensive bill.



Federal Reserve Board Chair Jerome H. Powell, right, during a Senate committee hearing examining the quarterly Cares Act report to Congress on Sept. 24 in Washington. The Fed’s emergency lending programs have \$259 billion that still has not been committed.

“I have over \$200 billion of money that was allocated for the Federal Reserve facilities with the Treasury. I’m not going to need that,” Mnuchin said Wednesday on Fox Business.

Meanwhile, the Treasury Department and Federal Reserve have faced increasing pressure to make their borrowing facilities more attractive to private companies and local governments, with or without Congress. Some economists warn that businesses and local governments, whose budgets have been wrecked by the pandemic’s fallout, still urgently need help.

Those are the exact areas that two of the Fed’s lending programs are intended to address. But those programs have seen meager uptake and little participation from big banks, and critics say that the programs’ onerous terms significantly limit the amount of money that can get out the door.

The Fed’s “Main Street” lending program has the capacity to issue up to \$600 billion in loans to midsize businesses. But for months, businesses and banks have said that the program’s rules are so restrictive that companies desperately in need of a lifeline are being turned away. The ongoing question is whether the Fed and Treasury can agree on a new set of rules to significantly expand the reach of the program, although the Treasury Department has favored a more conservative approach in the past.

In a letter to Trump on Thursday, the chief executives of several leading national hotels urged Trump to approve an executive order to make it easier for firms to borrow from the Main Street lending program (MSLP).

“We believe you have the power to call for immediate modifications to the MSLP to increase participation and help thousands of businesses,” said the letter, which was signed by the CEOs of Hilton, Marriott International and Hyatt Hotels, among other leading hotel firms.

Opening the program to riskier loans could prove difficult, because any losses are ultimately covered by taxpayer dollars. But even now, of the \$195 billion that has already been committed by the Treasury Department to support the Fed’s programs, \$75 billion has been set aside to cover any losses from the Main Street program. As of Wednesday, the program had a total of \$3 billion in loans on the balance sheet.

Back in the spring, the Fed also announced a program that could issue up to \$500 billion in loans to states and municipalities. But the Fed’s program has issued only two loans — to the state of Illinois and New York’s Metropolitan Transportation Authority — for a total of \$1.6 billion. Of the \$195 billion committed from the Treasury Department to support the Fed’s program, \$35 billion was set aside to cover any losses from the municipal lending program.

As financial relief remains idle, cities and states have begun exploring budget cuts to make up for revenue shortfalls, with Chicago and New York City contemplating dramatic cuts to their workforces.

Fed leaders say it is a good sign that the municipal lending program has seen little uptake, as the municipal bond market perked up once the Fed announced the program. That market has almost

“It’s a total mismatch of resources.”
Ernie Tedeschi, a former Treasury Department economist

entirely healed, allowing governments to borrow at cheaper rates and with longer timelines.

But economists and local government officials say that the Fed should extend the amount of time localities have to pay back their loans under the central bank’s program, or that the Fed should lower the interest rate on its loans.

In a statement, a Treasury representative said that since March, the department has “remained flexible and responsive to both public feedback and economic conditions.”

“The Federal Reserve, in consultation with Treasury, has modified the terms of the lending

programs since they were announced to expand and enhance these programs and ensure broad access to credit and liquidity. We will continue to monitor the impact of these programs and will not hesitate to act as needed to support the economy,” the representative said.

The stakes are high for Carmela Roth and her 13-year-old company specializing in meeting and event planning, plus promotional items and apparel. The pandemic has wiped her California-based business clean of bookings, except for some virtual ones. Roth has laid off seven people from a staff of 25.

Roth’s company received about \$330,000 from the PPP program and another \$150,000 from the Economic Injury Disaster Loans program. Roth has contacted more than 15 banks hoping to get a loan through the Fed’s Main Street program.

Every one turned her away. Under the program, banks have flexibility to set their own terms. In some cases, Roth was told she didn’t qualify because she didn’t own commercial real estate, which could be used as collateral. One bank told Roth to take out a loan against her house — and then offered to pray for her.

“They need to scrap [the Main Street lending program],” Roth said. “It’s a failure. No matter how much they improve it, it allows banks to use their lending guidelines. Therefore, no small busi-

ness in this economy will ever be considered a ‘good risk.’ The money will just sit there. . . . What they need to do is take that money and do additional rounds of PPP.”

White House officials have explored whether the leftover money can be reallocated to other purposes without approval from Congress. They have looked into using the money for another round of \$1,200 stimulus checks, or small-business relief through the Paycheck Protection Program, but have been told by attorneys at the Treasury Department that they cannot do so legally because Congress has power over spending decisions under the Constitution, according to two people who spoke on the condition of anonymity to disclose internal administration deliberations.

Federal Reserve Board Chair Jerome H. Powell and Mnuchin have repeatedly called for more targeted aid from Congress, saying the Fed’s programs aren’t designed to meet the needs of many businesses and local governments, particularly those that can’t afford to go into more debt. Testifying before the House Financial Services Committee last month, Mnuchin said he would reallocate \$200 billion of the overall \$454 billion pot to support children — perhaps through money to schools — and protect jobs in hard-hit industries.

Asked by the committee’s chairwoman, Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), whether the Treasury Department could further enhance the existing programs, Mnuchin said, “I unfortunately think there’s not more we can do.”

“Almost every single one of the facilities has extra capacity,” Mnuchin said, adding that the money could be reallocated “to better use.”

Powell said last month that he expects the Main Street lending program could cover up to \$30 billion in loans by the end of 2020. Fed leaders often warn that a second wave in coronavirus cases, or a persistent slowing in the economic recovery, could spur more demand for Main Street loans over the coming months.

Still, the Fed can only lend money, and Powell has acknowledged that many businesses can’t afford to go into more debt and would instead benefit from direct grants, similar to those from the Paycheck Protection Program. At a hearing last month before the House Financial Services Committee, Powell said the program was seeing little demand for loans under \$1 million, and that a facility geared toward relatively small loan amounts “would have to be a different kind of facility” than Main Street.

“Trying to underwrite the credit of hundreds of thousands of small businesses would be very difficult,” Powell said. “I think PPP is a better way to address that space in the market.”

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Pelosi and Mnuchin continue stimulus negotiations but remain far apart

Meanwhile, McConnell says Senate will vote Tuesday on targeted bills

BY ERICA WERNER AND JEFF STEIN

House Democrats and the Trump administration remained far apart Monday in economic relief negotiations, and a resolution looked unlikely ahead of the Tuesday night deadline set by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for a deal that could pass before the election.

President Trump seemed to downplay chances for an outcome, telling reporters that “Nancy Pelosi, at this moment, does not want to do anything that’s going to affect the election. And I think it will affect the election negatively for her. So we’ll see what happens.”

But Pelosi insisted in a call with Democratic colleagues that she did want to pass legislation before the election, saying she didn’t want to carry “the droppings of this grotesque elephant into the next presidency,” according to a person on the call who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss it. The elephant comment was first reported by Politico.

She spoke by phone for nearly an hour Monday afternoon with Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, with whom she’s been holding regular negotiating sessions over a bill between \$1.8 trillion and \$2.2 trillion. The two

“continued to narrow their differences” and “the speaker continues to hope that, by the end of the day Tuesday, we will have clarity on whether we will be able to pass a bill before the election,” Pelosi spokesman Drew Hammill said on Twitter.

Pelosi set the Tuesday deadline in an appearance on a Sunday talk show, indicating that if no agreement was reached by Tuesday night, it would not be possible to get legislation passed before the Nov. 3 election. It was unclear precisely what Hammill meant by “clarity,” and he declined to elaborate.

Hammill said staff were working around-the-clock, but the divisions appeared significant.

The stock market slid Monday as hopes faded for a deal. The Dow Jones industrial average fell 411 points, or 1.4 percent.

Before speaking with Mnuchin, Pelosi had joined a conference call with House Democrats where she and senior Democrats detailed multiple areas where the two sides remain at odds, including liability protections sought by the administration for businesses. “There isn’t a single Democrat who could vote for a bill with those provisions,” Rep. Diana DeGette (D-Colo.) said on the call, according to several people listening in, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe it.

Pelosi said there still was not agreement for funding levels for state and local governments, a key Democratic demand. And the two sides continued to wrangle over language for spending



House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) has set a Tuesday night deadline to reach a deal on a new coronavirus aid package that could pass before the election, but a resolution is looking unlikely.

on health care and testing provisions, with Energy and Commerce Chairman Frank Pallone Jr. (D-N.J.) saying Democrats could not sign off on what would amount to a “slush fund” for the administration.

There also were still disagreements over small business funding and a variety of other issues.

Meanwhile, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) — who has rejected spending the enormous sums Pelosi and

Mnuchin are discussing — announced the Senate will be voting Tuesday and Wednesday on much more targeted bills. On Wednesday, the Senate will take up a bill to replenish the small-business Paycheck Protection Program and McConnell will try to advance an approximately \$500 billion bill that includes money for schools, vaccines, some new unemployment insurance and more.

Senate Democrats blocked the

same legislation last month, saying it’s insufficient because it leaves out multiple priorities, including \$1,200 stimulus checks for individuals that are part of the package under discussion by Pelosi and Mnuchin. It appears destined to meet the same fate this week.

Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) blasted the legislation Monday as “emaciated” and said: “The Republican proposal was unac-

ceptable a month ago. It remains unacceptable.” He also said it was designed only to give the Republicans political cover.

McConnell, however, accused Democrats of taking an “all-or-nothing approach,” and said, “The speaker’s Marie Antoinette act needs to end.”

Congress has not passed any new economic or health care relief since an unprecedented \$3 trillion burst of spending when the epidemic started in the spring. Many of those programs have since run their course, the economy is weakening and coronavirus cases are spiking around the country.

A number of House Democrats have been pressuring Pelosi to make a deal now, before the election — a viewpoint expressed on Monday’s call by Rep. Susie Lee (D-Nev.), according to people on the call.

But with Trump making a series of erratic pronouncements, including ending the talks altogether only to restart them and saying he wanted to spend even more than the Democrats, Pelosi has been holding out for more.

It’s not clear that any deal struck by Mnuchin and Pelosi could even pass the Senate. McConnell said over the weekend that if Mnuchin and Pelosi come to an agreement, “the Senate would of course consider it.” Trump told reporters Monday that if a deal is reached, “Republicans will come along,” declining to say if he’d spoken with McConnell.

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TUESDAY OPINION

DANA MILBANK
WASHINGTON SKETCH

Republicans serve up weak October surprise ideas

Eric Trump, a bear of very little brain, had just the thing to help his father.
Trump the Younger tweeted an aerial photo on Saturday of a sprawling luxury estate, writing: “The salary of a U.S. senator is \$174,000 per year. This is Joe Biden’s house.” He added, with an eye-roll emoji, “Seems legit.”

It would have been a tough hit on the Democratic presidential nominee — except the property in the photograph is not Biden’s. It hasn’t been for 24 years. He had bought it, dilapidated, in the mid-1970s for \$185,000, then, after rehabilitating it over two decades, sold it for \$1.2 million.

The only scandal the episode revealed was how desperate President Trump and his allies are to find something — anything — that might change the trajectory of the race at this late stage. After 2016, only a fool would confidently predict the election outcome. But judging from the actions of Trump’s team and Republican lawmakers and candidates, it’s clear *they* think they’re losing.

They’re attacking Democrats for having hard-to-pronounce names and for allegedly being closet vegans. They’re dropping supposed bombshells about Biden’s past that fail to detonate. And they’re pretending they never liked that Trump guy.

Item: Sen. John Cornyn (R-Tex.), a stalwart Trump ally now in a close race, told the Fort Worth Star-Telegram his relationship with Trump is “like a lot of women who get married and think they’re going to change their spouse, and that doesn’t usually work out very well.” Cornyn, who publicly supported Trump diverting Pentagon funds for a border wall, now claims he opposed it.

Item: Sen. Ben Sasse (R-Neb.), another Trump enabler for four years, excoriated Trump last week because he “kisses dictators’ butts,” “mocks evangelicals” and “flirted with white supremacists” — sentiments Sasse largely suppressed before he feared “a Republican bloodbath in the Senate.”

Item: The New York Times reports that “midlevel aides on the campaign have even begun inquiring about employment on Capitol Hill after the election, apparently under the assumption that there will not be a second Trump administration for them to serve in.”

If Republicans think abandoning ship now will work for them, I’ve got a house in Delaware to sell them. Even as Republicans belatedly decide the USS Trump is going down, they are mirroring his aimless campaign themes in their own races.

In Pennsylvania, where Democrat Eugene DePasquale is poised to oust Rep. Scott Perry (R-Pa.), the National Republican Congressional Committee put up an ad on Oct. 13 attacking DePasquale — for his Italian name. “Eugene DePasquale: Tough to spell,” the announcer intones. The ad also mocks DePasquale’s CrossFit routine with scenes of gym equipment and push-ups.

In Nebraska, where Democrat Kara Eastman is positioned to defeat a Republican incumbent, an ad by the Congressional Leadership Fund — the House GOP super PAC — shows the Democrat’s head superimposed over a raw steak. It accuses her of plotting to “get rid of farting cows,” warns she’ll “stick a fork in that Omaha steak” and closes with the announcer asking: “How do you like your tofu?” Fittingly, her opponent’s name is Rep. Don Bacon.

Eastman, in a meeting with supporters, had said Republicans are “attacking me like crazy. There’s fliers going out to everybody in the district that I’m a radical socialist.” The CLF cut out all the words except “I’m a radical socialist” and uses that phrase in the ad. Another CLF ad says Eastman wants a “new world where no one eats meat.” And an NRCC ad says she wants to abolish cars and air travel and raise taxes to 70 percent.

In Texas, where Democrat Sri Preston Kulkarni has a good shot to flip a Republican seat, the CLF attacks him for attending “notorious desert drug parties.” The “drug party” in question? The annual Burning Man arts festival, attended by tens of thousands.

One Republican congressional nominee in Virginia slams his son to a wrestling mat and repeatedly pins him to show he’ll “put liberal ideas in a headlock.” At one Trump rally, embattled Sen. David Perdue (R-Ga.) makes fun of the name of his colleague, Democratic vice-presidential nominee Kamala Harris. At another, Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.) says Biden supporters don’t “particularly like America.”

If it all seems scattered and random (They’re corrupt capitalists! No, they’re socialists! No, they’re anarchists!), consider the direction from the top. Last week, Trump adviser Rudy Giuliani served up his latest Hunter Biden conspiracy theory to Rupert Murdoch’s New York Post. The evidence was so shoddy the main author reportedly refused to put his name on it.

Giuliani must have hoped for an October surprise. But the real surprise is this: After Trump ransacked the CIA, the Justice Department and the State Department for any morsel of dirt on his opponent, the election is upon us — and this is all he’s got?

Twitter: @Milbank



CRISTOBAL HERRERA-ULASHKEVICH/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

The “Anti-Communist Caravan for Freedom and Democracy” event in Little Havana, Miami, on Oct. 10.

Why are Cuban Americans backing caudillo Trump?

BY LIZETTE ALVAREZ

Of all the reasons Cuban Americans in South Florida plan to vote for President Trump, the most head-scratching is the claim that, if elected, Democratic nominee Joe Biden will unleash a socialist tsunami upon the United States.

On one level, this concern is understandable. After all, many of these voters are in the United States precisely because they, or their forebears, fled the misery of the Castro regime — socialism at its very worst.

But nothing in Biden’s past even hints of a covert fascination with communism or socialism — unless you confuse expanding affordable health care and raising taxes for Marxism. As far as I can tell, no Democrat is looking to nationalize Coca-Cola. Even more astonishing is the fact that, for a people steeped in Fidel Castro and his legacy, so few Cuban Americans can actually see which candidate in the race resembles a Latin American dictator: President Trump.

I’ve seen this tension play out in my own family. My sister, Mariana, is among the nearly 60 percent of Cuban American registered voters who, according to a new poll, intend to vote for Trump. She worries that a Biden presidency will drag the country down the socialist path: Because “Biden is an old man with dementia,” she fears, he’ll quickly hand over power to a cadre of Reds led by Kamala D. Harris, Nancy Pelosi and compañero Bernie Sanders.

As far as clarion calls to get out the vote go, this is a hard one to beat. Like my sister, Nelson Diaz, the chairman of the Republican Party of Miami-Dade County, is ringing the warning alarms. “I’m not saying if in 2020 Biden wins we will have a communist dictatorship,” Diaz cautions. “But we will drift ever closer to socialism, and that tipping point will come quickly.”

Biden’s socialist coup will begin, he explains, with the Internal Revenue Service: “They would take our businesses through an ever-increasing number of taxes.”

The only thing standing between us and this Orwellian nightmare, many Cuban Americans argue, is the president’s reelection. They view him as a patriotic family man who fights communist-style government corruption and speaks the truth. His Miami supporters bristle at any suggestion that he’s an authoritarian wrapped in an American flag, arguing that Trump is just doing what’s necessary to Make America Great Again.

On the other side of my family’s political spectrum, my brother Frank doesn’t have a lot of use for this confusing arroz con mango stance, as they say in Miami. He’s a 70-year-old Cuban armchair historian who supports Biden, and when I called to ask him about the Trump-as-anti-socialist-savior phenomenon, he laughed. “You know, I keep a checklist.”

Chuckling, I took the bait. “What?” He pulled up his “Dictator Checklist” on his desktop and started reading.

1. Wants military parades
2. Holds huge rallies for no reason
3. Is a narcissist who loves to see his name on buildings
4. Appoints family members to important government positions
5. Talks about jailing the press and his opponents
6. Dreams about being president for life
7. Keeps his finances a secret
8. Enriches himself while in office
9. Suppresses the vote
10. Encourages militias

And on he went, delving into meatier topics such as ignoring subpoenas, indoctrinating followers and actually seeing himself as Superman.

My brother has a point — many more than 10. Rather than hold an “Anti-Communist Caravan for Free-

dom and Democracy,” as some Cubans and Venezuelans did in Miami recently, they should zero in on Trump’s dangerous erosion of democratic institutions designed to check and balance power.

Trump is head-butting American democracy in a way few believed possible. He has done almost nothing to help oust Nicolás Maduro, the socialist president of Venezuela. He has cozier up to Russia’s Vladimir Putin, a career KGB officer, and Kim Jong Un, the communist dictator of North Korea. He did crack down on American visits to Cuba with the usual predictable result: no change on the island. (Trump also hedged his bets in 2008 when he applied to register his trademark in Cuba.)

It is Trump’s authoritarianism at home and his affection for authoritarians abroad — not a Biden-led socialist takeover — that poses the existential threat to America’s prosperity and freedom. “A lot of Cubans have been here a hell of a long time, and we should know better than to think there is a socialist specter around every corner,” says Guillermo Grenier, chair of the department of global and sociocultural studies at Florida International University.

Still, Biden and his campaign shouldn’t be dismissive or complacent. The socialist red herring resonates beyond Miami, but it carries unique weight here. Cubans, Nicaraguans, Argentines and, most recently, Venezuelans have seen left-wing and right-wing strongmen up close. Memories of dictatorships — particularly socialist ones — influence their voting, and in Florida, as we know well, every single vote counts.

The Biden team can start by reminding Cuban exiles and their descendants why they’re here: to preserve liberty and democracy, not undermine it.

Lizette Alvarez is a journalist living in Miami.

Court-packing isn’t the answer

BY RAHM EMANUEL

Democrats are so distraught over Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell’s (R-Ky.) maneuverings to cement a conservative majority on the Supreme Court that they are overlooking the enormous political opportunity right in front of them. A wave election the year ahead of national redistricting — remember 2010? — can redefine the nation’s political landscape for a decade. If Joe Biden leads the party to a landslide in two weeks, Democrats have a chance to establish a new governing Democratic majority.

For decades, Republicans deployed “God, guns and gays” to cleave suburban moderates from urban liberals, but all three issues have lost their punch. The gun lobby is in retreat, same-sex marriage is the law of the land, and the imaginary “War on Christmas” is the least of anyone’s problems — and so a muscular new coalition is forming. The Supreme Court long served as a last line of defense against GOP lawmakers determined to eviscerate the right to choose, the right to vote, equal protection under the law, and environmental and workplace protections. But rather than just continue to play defense in the courts, Democrats should soon have the votes also to go on offense in the legislative arena.

By ramming through Judge Amy Coney Barrett’s nomination just weeks before the election, the GOP might have finally won the Supreme Court. But checks and balances are a two-way street, and the power Democrats are likely to wield beginning next year might reverberate until 2030. They should be careful not to squander it.

Virginia, long a bellwether, suggests a new playbook. The voters who put Democrats in control of the state-

house last year quickly saw the results: Richmond embraced gun-safety legislation, ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, adopted broad protections for LGBTQ people, established new worker and civil rights, and passed voting rights legislation. Much of that progress is beyond the reach of a reactionary judiciary. In the same way a Democratic Congress and President Barack Obama overturned the Supreme Court’s retrograde ruling in *Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.* with a new law on gender pay equity, progressives can fight back against the court with a results-oriented, court-proof agenda.

It’s already happening. State legislatures are writing the protections provided in *Roe v. Wade* into law. Absent movement from Washington, states have embraced tough renewable-energy standards — and a Democrat-controlled Congress could advance a national approach to climate change. Legislators can make sure school districts benefit from equal funding. And if you thought that Democrats’ vows to maintain coverage for those with preexisting conditions played a role in their huge midterm victories in 2018, imagine the effect at the polls if the Trump court rips insurance away from families hit by covid-19 — and a Democratic Congress speedily steps in to restore it.

Despite Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr.’s assertion that the high court just calls “balls and strikes,” the conservative majority’s evisceration of a Voting Rights Act reauthorization that had passed the Senate, 98-0, proves that justices are, in fact, legislating from the bench. So as they hand down a stream of unpopular decisions, Democrats will have multiple opportunities to campaign for legislative checks that will solidify and grow their new metropolitan majority of urban and suburban voters.

With health care, climate change and tax reform all on their to-do list, Democrats shouldn’t waste political capital attempting a political maneuver — court-packing — that not even Franklin Roosevelt could pull off at the height of the New Deal. Rather than expand the court, Democrats should expand the playing field. With the filibuster curtailed, they will be equipped to establish a new national voting rights regimen that addresses not only the legacy of bigotry in the South but also conservative efforts to disenfranchise people of color across the country.

They will have an opportunity also to expand the district and appellate courts, where much of the key case law gets made, as Sen. Christopher A. Coons (D-Del.) has proposed. And they can move to bring a new level of transparency to our politics, exposing how dark money not only influences the legislative branch but also funds junkets and exotic retreats for judges and justices as well.

The wave election of 2010 that empowered Republicans for a decade has now played itself out. The majority of Americans aren’t going to march across a bridge back to 1955. If conservative judges try to push LGBTQ people back in the closet, women back in the alley, immigrants back on boats, voters back to facing poll taxes and other barriers, and workers back into sweatshops, the consequences at the polls will be devastating for the Republicans for years to come. A preview is only a couple of weeks away.

Progressives are right to be infuriated by the way conservatives have shattered norms to seize the court. But we shouldn’t let that anger blind us to the path to a new governing majority.

The writer is a former Chicago mayor, White House chief of staff and Democratic congressman from Illinois.

Rhetoric that only encourages violence

BY ELIZABETH NEUMANN

The arrest of 13 people, including members of a self-described militia group who were allegedly training for civil war, plotting to kidnap Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer and discussing abducting Virginia Gov. Ralph Northam, shocked many Americans. Those who have studied and combated violent extremist movements were horrified but not surprised.

In March, while serving as assistant secretary of homeland security for counterterrorism and threat prevention, I asked my team to research how pandemic mitigation efforts might exacerbate violent extremism. For decades, the Secret Service, the FBI and academic researchers have examined the backgrounds and pre-attack behaviors of mass-attack perpetrators. Some of the risk factors of violent extremism they identified are increasing nationwide: social isolation, financial stress, job loss, loss of loved ones and significant changes or uncertainty in life.

My team also found that some groups would perceive public health measures as government overreach infringing on rights and liberties, which might encourage anti-government extremists. And we observed foreign actors and domestic violent extremists spreading disinformation about the pandemic to foment discord and encourage violence.

These findings were included in the recently released 2020 Homeland Threat Assessment, which concluded: “Domestic Violent Extremists [present] the most persistent and lethal threat. . . . Violent extremists will continue to target individuals or institutions that represent symbols of their grievances, as well as grievances based on political affiliation or perceived policy positions. . . . The domestic situation surrounding the covid-19 pandemic creates an environment that could accelerate some individuals’ mobilization to targeted violence or radicalization to terrorism.”

This is what we see in the Michigan allegations. One of the alleged co-conspirators, Adam Fox, complained in a private Facebook group that Whitmer was a “tyrant bitch” because gyms remained closed. According to the criminal complaint against the group, “several members talked about state governments they believed were violating the U.S. Constitution, including the government of Michigan and Governor Gretchen Whitmer. Several members talked about murdering ‘tyrants.’”

My former colleagues in government are doing what they can to address the problem. But there’s only so much they can do. Though lockdowns were necessary public health measures that saved thousands of lives, they exacerbate risk factors and stressors that contribute to violence, and no amount of resource reallocation in the national security and law enforcement agencies can change that.

This is where leadership makes a difference. A good leader can speak to the country — especially those most susceptible to radicalization — and contextualize the national and worldwide struggle against covid-19 in a way that unites people and discourages division, anger and grievance.

In March, anticipating the effects of the lockdowns and the need for national unity, my team developed a messaging campaign to help federal, state and local leaders build resilience within communities. Although the materials were approved within DHS, they never received the required approvals from the White House Covid-19 Task Force.

Rather than bring us together, the president did the exact opposite. In April, he tweeted, “LIBERATE MINNESOTA!” and “LIBERATE MICHIGAN!” and “LIBERATE VIRGINIA, and save your great 2nd Amendment. It is under siege!”

Those words are in keeping with Trump’s slow repudiation of former KKK leader David Duke in 2016, his description of “very fine people on both sides” in Charlottesville in 2017 and his invitation to the Proud Boys to “stand back and stand by” at last month’s presidential debate.

Language from campaign materials and Trump’s extemporaneous speeches at rallies has been used as justification for acts of violence. The president has repeatedly been confronted with this fact. He and his supporters retort that he has, eventually, denounced violence and white supremacists. But the issue is not whether he has ever condemned those ideas and people; it is that he is inconsistent and muddled in his condemnations. Extremists thrive on this mixed messaging, interpreting it as coded support.

Combined with the president’s repeated efforts to undermine the legitimacy of the election and militaristic calls to “join Army for Trump’s election security operation,” law enforcement and counterterrorism officials have expressed concerns to me that the president’s rhetoric will lead to more civil unrest and violence. A survey by YouGov and Voter Study Group and published by Politico shows that “among Americans who identify as Democrat or Republican, 1 in 3 now believes that violence could be justified to advance their parties’ political goals — a substantial increase over the last three years.” The authors of the Politico article note that there are preliminary studies demonstrating “messages from [Joe] Biden or Trump denouncing all violence can reduce mass approval of violence.”

If anyone still questioned whether the president’s rhetoric encourages violence, the plot against Whitmer provided the answer. Regardless of his intent, the president’s effect is to embolden white supremacists, violent militias and anti-government extremists. He has been warned of this numerous times, yet he persists. He knows. He just does not care. And the country, I fear, will pay the price.

The writer served as assistant secretary of homeland security for counterterrorism and threat prevention from March 2018 to April 2020.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS

Retreating into a pandemic fantasy world

Mr. Trump and his team deny grim reality, leaving Americans to suffer the consequences.

A SAfrightening new wave of coronavirus infections and hospitalizations washes over the nation, President Trump and his team sound like cheerleaders in a fantasy world. “The light at the end of the tunnel is near. We are rounding the turn,” Mr. Trump said Friday. His White House coronavirus adviser, Scott Atlas, went even further on the weekend with nakedly irresponsible advice that face masks don’t work. The implication was: Don’t bother to wear them. “People are tired of covid,” Mr. Trump declared Monday. “People are saying, ‘Whatever, just leave us alone.’”

Of course we are tired of covid. More than 8 million Americans have been infected by the novel coronavirus and at least 219,000 have died, more than in any other country. Some number of those deaths can be attributed to Mr. Trump’s adoption of wishful thinking as policy. He has resisted a national testing plan and a national public health strategy, and he continually encourages reckless behavior and mocks prudence. The result is more unemployment, more illness, more misery.

“Masks work? NO,” Dr. Atlas wrote, egregiously. He

is no expert in infectious disease, but he has risen in the White House hierarchy because he is comfortable in Mr. Trump’s make-believe world. Dr. Atlas rejects universal mask mandates, says they are unnecessary except in close proximity to others, frequently criticizes lockdowns, insists that businesses and schools open, and discourages expanded diagnostic testing. He pursues the mirage of natural “herd immunity.” There is no other way to read this than a strategy to let a lot of people die. Michael Osterholm of the University of Minnesota described it as “the most amazing combination of pixie dust and pseudoscience I’ve ever seen.”

The pandemic poses tough trade-offs: Restrictions on people congregating, which can slow viral transmission, must be weighed against the enormous costs to education and the economy. But there can be no honest debate based on fraudulent science and negligent leadership. Masks are not perfect, but they work. Mitigation works. Careless openings and reckless gatherings lead to outbreaks and surging virus.

According to The Post’s reporters, Dr. Atlas is at odds with others on the White House coronavirus task force, including Anthony S. Fauci, director of the National

Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, and Deborah Bix, the coronavirus response coordinator. The hostility spilled into the open Monday in Mr. Trump’s conference call with campaign staff. “People are tired of hearing Fauci and all these idiots,” the president said. “He’s been here for, like, 500 years. He’s like this wonderful sage telling us how — Fauci, if we listened to him, we’d have 700,000 [or] 800,000 deaths.” Trump added of Dr. Fauci: “Every time he goes on television there’s always a bomb, but there’s a bigger bomb if you fire him.”

Dr. Fauci has been honorably speaking out, as much as he can. We wish Dr. Bix and the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Robert Redfield, would be as forthright in sharing unvarnished, data-based advice. But they are not the villains here; undoubtedly, they are trying their best to keep the nation on course in the face of ignorant and heedless leadership.

Mr. Trump’s malpractice in responding to covid-19 is by any measure a firing offense. Fortunately, Americans have an opportunity to fire him, in voting taking place now and culminating on Nov. 3.

TOM TOLES



Younger Americans have been particularly responsive to the call to relieve traditionally older poll workers, thanks in part to the Power the Polls campaign, a collaboration of nonprofits and businesses whose dedicated efforts have been amplified by a number of celebrities. Hopefully, this influx will mean a more sustainable workforce for decades to come.

Those who are able should still consider applying to work the polls if their local board of election is still hiring. A surplus is preferable since not everyone who applies will complete their training, and officials

expect even some of those who are trained to drop out before Election Day.

There’s plenty that officials should still do to reduce the odds of a chaotic election — notably, enacting measures to allow ballots to be processed before Election Day. But the fact that thousands of Americans have stepped forward as new poll workers is a good reminder of how impactful the cumulative efforts of ordinary people can be during this election. Other ways to help: Vote early if you can, and be patient for results, which may not arrive on election night.

Thailand’s glimmer of hope

Pro-democracy protesters persist despite repression, and silence from the U.S.

FOR NEARLY two decades, politics in Thailand has been polarized between a rural-based populist movement and an urban elite allied with the military and monarchy. The populists repeatedly won democratic elections, only to be ousted by coups and questionable court decisions. Since 2014, when a coup installed its military leader, Prayuth Chan-ocha, as prime minister, the reactionaries have held the upper hand.

Now a new force has appeared that could shift the balance of power. A student movement that began months ago with protests against educational practices has gradually blossomed into a broad pro-democracy movement. Thousands have marched in Bangkok to advance three demands: that Mr. Prayuth and his government step down, that a repressive constitution imposed by his regime be revised and that government critics be allowed to speak freely. More recently, the protesters have been calling for reforms of the powerful monarchy, reacting to growing abuses by the current king.

Last week, the regime attempted to quash protests by declaring a state of emergency in Bangkok, banning gatherings and deploying water cannons against the students. Dozens of protest leaders have been arrested. Yet over the weekend, thousands defiantly gathered for new demonstrations. Employing tactics of the protest movement in Hong Kong, they used secure messaging apps to arrange flash demonstrations that police were unable to contain. Meanwhile, unrest began spreading to areas outside the capital, where the “red shirt” populist movement once led by Thaksin Shinawatra remains strong.

The developments offer a ray of hope that democracy in Thailand could be revived after years of repression. Oddly, one factor on the side of the reformers is the behavior of King Vajiralongkorn, who replaced his beloved father in 2016 and has alienated much of the country with his eccentric and autocratic behavior. A notorious playboy who spends most of his time in Germany with a large entourage of servants, the king has sought to expand

his powers beyond his status as a constitutional monarch, seizing control of billions of royal assets as well as military units. Those who criticize him risk long jail sentences under lèse-majesté laws: Two protesters who yelled at the royal Rolls-Royce limousine as it passed through the capital last week have been charged with endangering the royal family, which could mean a sentence of life in prison.

The protesters will surely persist, but they face an uphill battle. China seems to have shown in Hong Kong how a street protest movement can be gradually ground down, even without a Tiananmen Square-style crackdown. In the past, a pro-democracy movement might have looked to the United States for help; Washington’s strong military alliance with Thailand provides it with leverage. But, as in so many other nations where opponents of autocracy struggle to gain traction, the Trump administration has been silent. No doubt Mr. Prayuth sees that as a vote of confidence, and a green light for more repression.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

A just compensation package

Regarding the Oct. 16 Metro article “Clock ticks on benefits for workers hurt on job”:

I was pleased to see The Post giving attention to the problem of D.C.’s broken public-sector workers’ compensation system. The article poignantly presented how the D.C. government is cruelly terminating the benefits of injured workers who should be eligible for permanent total disability.

The public-sector workers’ compensation program not only grants inferior rights to government employees; it also concentrates power in the hands of the Office of Risk Management (ORM) to write the regulations that govern its own conduct. ORM’s untenable interpretation of the law governing permanent total disability is one of many predictable abuses.

Council member Brandon T. Todd (D-Ward 4) has introduced two bills to address this problem. One clarifies the issue of permanent total disability. While crucial, this is treating a symptom. The other bill establishes full equality for the private- and public-sector systems, seeking to prevent similar crises from befalling injured workers in the years ahead.

Benjamin Douglas, Washington

The writer is a workers’ compensation lawyer.

Failing to reduce methane emissions

Regarding the Oct. 15 news article “Methane hot spots proliferate despite global economic slump, analysts find”:

It is painfully obvious that not enough is being done by the United States or the European Union to reduce methane emissions. Methane has a global warming potential 84 times that of carbon dioxide, yet 2015 Paris agreement commitments to lower methane emissions have fallen flat. The United States has failed; President Trump withdrew from the Paris agreement in 2017 and eased methane restrictions for the United States this year.

Slightly better, the E.U. is “considering” legislation to reduce methane emissions from oil and gas, yet there has still been no action to cut methane emissions from agricultural sources, particularly cattle, which are equally high. Of course, Big Oil and Gas are satisfying perpetrators to blame and try to regulate. However, we cannot ignore the contribution of livestock farming to climate change. Addressing this involves tackling systemic issues in our agricultural system, but there are simple solutions as well, such as directing financial support to farmers to provide feed additives that suppress methane production in cows and other ruminants.

Elizabeth Sartain, Rockville

Reviving the Peace Corps

The Oct. 16 news article “As Peace Corps turns 60 during pandemic, volunteers face a murky future” rightly focused on the agency’s uncertain future as it reaches its 60th anniversary. It’s also worth noting the Peace Corps’ remarkable but often unacknowledged accomplishment: the enrichment of American society.

The nearly quarter-million volunteers who have served overseas have indeed made great contributions to the communities in which they worked, and they have given those communities a chance to see some of the best the United States has to offer: individuals with a caring and generous spirit. But they have also brought back to this country knowledge of the people, culture, customs and language of their host countries — a cross-cultural awareness and understanding that helps to balance some of the mindless xenophobia we are experiencing today.

Bill Wanlund, Falls Church

‘Originalism’ excludes women

Regarding Dana Milbank’s Oct. 14 Wednesday Opinion commentary, “The easy questions Barrett flubbed”:

“Originalism” is the belief that the Constitution should be interpreted in the same way as at the time of its ratification, not from a modern perspective. In the second day of her confirmation hearings, Judge Amy Coney Barrett said she supports originalism. If this were true, Judge Barrett would have no job. The Framers wrote it from a patriarchal perspective. They didn’t include women in the outlining of rights. Women couldn’t vote, let alone hold any sort of office or power. The whole concept of her promoting originalism is reminiscent of President Trump’s “Make America Great Again” slogan. They both enforce the idea that America was great only before amendments were added and additional rights granted. This makes many Americans, including myself, fearful for both the state of the country and my own rights.

Frances McPherson, Washington

The ‘original’ Heller decision

If Jack Rakove was right in his Oct. 18 Outlook essay, “The Constitution’s framers weren’t ‘originalists,’ ” it can be only a matter of time before Judge Amy Coney Barrett overrules *D.C. v. Heller*.

It is fair to remember the several factors that were in play when the Bill of Rights was enacted. First, delegates to the Constitutional Convention were, essentially, elitists. With memories of the frightening Shays’ Rebellion fresh in their minds and the fear of “mob” rule very much a part of their decision-making process, the idea to suddenly empower “the people” with the right to bear arms simply makes no sense. Delegates were, at best, suspicious of citizens’ involvement in politics, which is why, even today, there is no constitutional protection of the popular vote of our presidents. Thus, the idea of the public’s right to bear arms was an idea that never arose nor was debated during deliberations. In contrast, the major issue was the protection of states against the powers and intimidation wielded by the newly created federal government. This is why the Second Amendment was created: to give each state the right to maintain a militia in defense of its own boundaries. Logically, it is beyond reason that *Heller* dramatically and erroneously changed the originalists’ intent and obvious meaning behind the amendment.

More than any other Supreme Court decision, *Heller* began the now-universal realization that politics was beginning to erode the independent, impartial and judicially oriented process of the court.

Craig Mosby Miller, Leland, N.C.

LOCAL OPINIONS

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Why alumni would like the name Tenleytown High School

D.C. Public Schools has made clear its intention to rename Ward 3’s Woodrow Wilson High School. In early October, it spelled out criteria for public nominations for a new name. The first of those criteria is that “the individual has made a significant contribution to society.” The last is that “the individual’s given name and surname must be used.”

While not arguing the merits of the criteria, I do believe they unnecessarily limit potential new names. Moreover, replacing one person’s name with that of another will be divisive. Since DCPS is not applying these criteria retroactively to a high school named for its geographical location (Eastern), its neighborhood (Anacostia) or its image (School Without Walls), why not allow that same latitude now? For example, “Tenleytown High School” would be named for a family that settled and established businesses in

the area in the 1780s. The name would highlight its neighborhood location and is well-liked by area residents. It was not long ago that, responding to requests by local citizens, the Washington Metro Area Transit Authority changed the name of the planned “Tenley Circle” subway stop to “Tenleytown.”

A name such as Tenleytown High School would represent continuity for a place of shared educational excellence. With its green-and-white-clad “Tigers” sports teams, the newly renamed school could carry on the pride that thousands of alumni feel for their alma mater without current and future students having to bear the burden of a name with a racist history.

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CATHERINE RAMPPELL

Trump drives people away from his views

Read the room, Mr. President. After nearly four years in office, President Trump appears to be doing almost exactly the reverse of what most Americans want. On nearly every major policy issue, he has pushed the country to the left — or, at least, in the opposite direction of whatever his own stance is. Sure, in some ways, he has reshaped the presidency and the populace in his image. He has normalized overt bigotry, for example. And he has expanded the bounds for what counts as acceptable behavior from the leader of the free world to include bullying, pathological lying and possible self-dealing. On matters of *policy*, though, the reverse is true. Trump has driven Americans, including many Republicans, away from his positions. Even — perhaps especially — when it comes to the issues most central to his agenda. Take immigration. Through xenophobic rhetoric and more than 400 executive actions, his administration has made government more anti-immigrant. But those same choices seem to have helped to make the public more *pro-immigrant*. Nearly eight in 10 Americans (77 percent) now think immigration is good for the country, the highest share since Gallup began asking this question two decades ago. Additionally, the share of Americans who say they want increased immigration exceeds those who want it reduced — the first time this has been true since Gallup began asking in the 1960s. Polling from Pew Research Center has found that Americans have become more likely to say that immigration strengthens rather than burdens the country, even as Trump blockades immigrants on the grounds that they drain the economy and corrupt our culture. Americans have likewise become more pro-refugee since Trump took office, even as he ratchets down refugee admissions. And they’ve become more likely to say that immigrants mostly fill jobs that U.S. citizens don’t want. These increasingly xenophilic views have risen among Republicans as well as Democrats. Or consider health care. Trump has relentlessly attacked the Affordable Care Act, and in the process, vastly improved the law’s popularity. A clear majority now favor the law, according to Kaiser Family Foundation polling. Rising shares of Americans also oppose having the Supreme Court strike down the law’s protections for those with preexisting conditions; in fact, a majority of Republicans say they don’t want these protections overturned, though a lawsuit filed by 20 red states and supported by Trump seeks to do just that. Perhaps even more striking, since Trump took office, Americans have become more likely to say that the federal government is responsible for making sure all Americans have health-care coverage, according to Pew Research Center. They’ve also become more likely to say that this should be done through a single-payer system. Here, too, Republicans have become more supportive of these positions. The same pattern exists with trade. As Trump has clamped down on the free flow of goods and services, Americans have become more likely to say that free-trade agreements have been good for the United States. Again, multiple surveys show this pattern cutting across party affiliation. The Great Dealmaker, in other words, has repeatedly convinced Americans that his positions are a bad deal. To be sure, a policy’s popularity, or lack thereof, does not necessarily translate to merit. Over the years, the public has backed plenty of policies that are morally abhorrent, constitutionally problematic, economically damaging or logistically flawed. And a politician might adopt positions at odds with his constituents because he believes they are wrong. But Trump does not appear to be deliberately, courageously flouting the popular will as a matter of principle; rather, he has tried to pander but appears to have misjudged what the popular will actually is. He mistakenly believes that the rabidly anti-immigrant, anti-trade, anti-government fringe that shows up at his rallies represents America writ large — when in truth those pro-Trump crowds are not even representative of all Republicans. Additionally, on some issues, Americans may have supported Trump’s stances initially, before being exposed to what they’d mean in practice. In the abstract, levying tariffs, rejecting refugees and repealing Obamacare might sound like good ideas. Not so much, now that Trump has offered proof of concept. Rather than using public feedback to reshape his agenda, Trump instead pays lip services to views that are the opposite of his actions. Such is the case for his tax overhaul (which he falsely claimed would raise taxes on the rich, in accordance with public wishes); his treatment of “dreamers” (the unauthorized immigrants brought to the United States as children, whose popular protections Trump has been working to dismantle since 2017); the financing of Social Security (which he promises to safeguard, even as he tries to eliminate its dedicated funding stream); and pledges to “drain the swamp” (see: his lobbyist appointments and many regulatory rollbacks crafted by corporate donors). When he can’t defend his record on the merits or the politics, Trump simply imagines it away. If only the rest of us had that option.

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JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump in Ocala, Fla., on Friday.

EUGENE ROBINSON

The superspreader in chief

The coronavirus pandemic in the United States is rapidly climbing toward a third peak, and President Trump is doing more to boost the infection rate than reduce it. It’s hard to believe, but Trump doesn’t even seem to be *trying* to slow the spread of the deadly virus that has killed nearly 220,000 Americans, ravaged the economy and seriously damaged his chances of winning a second term. With the election just two weeks away and polls heavily favoring Democratic nominee Joe Biden, Trump has been spending his days frantically jetting around the country to campaign rallies that look like potential superspreader events — big, tightly packed, noisy gatherings where most people are not wearing masks. Trump’s own residence and workplace — the super-secure White House complex — became a covid-19 hot zone. Some who fell ill were chastened, including former New Jersey governor Chris Christie, who said Friday that “within 24 hours I went from feeling absolutely fine to being in the intensive care unit” of the Morristown Medical Center. “I was wrong to not wear a mask at the Amy Coney Barrett announcement and I was wrong not to wear a mask at my multiple debate prep sessions with the President and the rest of the team,” Christie said in a statement. “I hope that my experience shows my fellow citizens that you should follow [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention] guidelines in public no matter where you are and wear a mask to protect yourself and others.” Trump’s own bout with covid-19, however, appears to have taught him a

very different lesson. “They say I’m immune, I feel so powerful,” Trump said at a rally in Florida last week. “I’ll walk in there and kiss everyone in that audience. I’ll kiss the guys and the beautiful women and — everyone. I’ll just give you a big fat kiss.” No kissing ensued, fortunately. Whatever Trump wants to believe, scientists say that those who recover from covid-19 do have some immunity, but it is unclear how long the protection might last. There have been a few documented cases of reinfection; those cases are not yet well understood. At almost every rally, Trump tells his supporters that the nation is “rounding the turn” on covid-19. Those who say otherwise, Trump told one crowd last week, are “cynics and angry partisans and professional pessimists.” The numbers disagree. At the end of last week, new U.S. coronavirus infections were being reported at rates of more than 60,000 per day — levels not seen since August. Hospitalizations, which lag behind infections, have also begun to increase sharply; deaths, which trail hospitalizations, are expected to follow the same trajectory. The first U.S. wave of covid-19 crested in April and was centered in New York and the Northeast. The second wave, which had its biggest impact in the Sunbelt, peaked in July. We are now experiencing a third wave that seems worst in the Upper Midwest but is distressingly widespread, with cases rising again in places — including parts of New York — that had hoped the crisis was past. Reality does not fit Trump’s preferred “rounding the turn” narrative, however, so he lashes out at experts — such as Anthony S. Fauci, director of

the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases — who stress the need for universal mask-wearing, hand-washing and social distancing. “People are tired of covid. . . . People are saying, ‘Whatever — just leave us alone,’” Trump said Monday in a call with campaign staff. “People are tired of hearing Fauci and all these idiots. . . . Fauci is a nice guy. He’s been here for 500 years. . . . Fauci — if we listened to him, we’d have 700,000 [or] 800,000 deaths.” Trump no longer cares to listen to Fauci or the nation’s leading epidemiologists — whatever tolerance he had for the bad news they deliver is gone. Instead, he listens to a neuroradiologist, Scott Atlas, a darling of conservative media who advocates letting the coronavirus infect enough Americans so that the population achieves “herd immunity.” Experts say this is madness and would needlessly cost hundreds of thousands of lives. But it’s clearly the closest Trump can get to what he wants to hear. Two of Trump’s personality traits, his impatience and his narcissism, stand between the nation and success against covid-19. He is obviously sick of dealing with the pandemic, which hurts him politically. And since he beat the disease — with the help of experimental treatments not available to the rest of us — he figures everybody else should be able to beat it, too. With cold weather coming and most Americans having to spend more time indoors, this third wave of covid-19 could be truly horrific. Trump’s tragic legacy will be that he met a crisis — and instead of making it better, he made it worse. *Twitter: @Eugene_Robinson*

CHARLES LANE

Barrett would be no friend of right-to-die laws

Other issues created more controversy during her confirmation hearings, but one of the insufficiently appreciated effects of Judge Amy Coney Barrett’s elevation to the Supreme Court could be to fortify existing high court doctrine on physician-assisted suicide and euthanasia, specifically a 23-year-old precedent denying that terminally ill patients have a constitutional right to either one. The public appears increasingly sympathetic to such laws, but Barrett would join Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh as Trump appointees who, as of the time they were nominated, had given implicit but clear indicia that they would vote no on a “right to die,” just as all nine justices did in the 1997 case of *Washington v. Glucksberg*. Gorsuch published a book in 2006 questioning European euthanasia laws and defending then-existing state laws in the United States prohibiting doctor-assisted suicide. Kavanaugh served as a top official in the Bush administration as it tried to block physicians from prescribing lethal dosages under Oregon’s assisted-suicide law. And Barrett co-wrote a 1998 law review article in which she distinguished the dilemmas Catholic judges might face in following church teachings against capital punishment, as well as what she called a more “absolute” doctrine banning abortion and euthanasia, which “take away innocent life.” Gorsuch, Kavanaugh and Barrett would join three conservatives, John G. Roberts Jr., Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Clarence Thomas, whose records imply support for *Glucksberg*. Its essential holding was that the emerging norms of autonomy and dignity embodied in the right-to-die movement were not “deeply rooted in this Nation’s history and tradition” and could not define a fundamental right.

A court staffed by Hillary Clinton might have viewed that precedent differently, especially since the holding in *Glucksberg* is not necessarily popular: Though physician-assisted suicide and euthanasia are controversial and opposed on principle by devout Catholics (of which Barrett is one), polls show that most Americans support legalizing them. The Supreme Court has reversed itself on social issues — state bans against consensual intimacy between same-sex partners being a good example — before. And in 2015, Canada’s Supreme Court ruled that that country’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms mandated not only physician-assisted suicide but also doctor-provided euthanasia — even though the same court had reached the opposite conclusion 22 years earlier. Stare decisis, the legal principle that past rulings should usually be left to stand, is “not a straitjacket that condemns the law to stasis,” the Canadian court noted, and a new “matrix of legislative and social facts” had to be considered. On the whole, though, Americans, including proponents of a right to die, are probably better off leaving *Glucksberg* as settled law. That’s because, while not required to allow physician-assisted suicide, the states are also not forbidden to legalize it, per a 2006 ruling, *Gonzales v. Oregon*, in which the Supreme Court rebuffed the Bush administration’s attempt to treat that state’s doctors who prescribed lethal doses under state assisted-suicide law as violators of the federal Controlled Substances Act. Eight of the 50 states and D.C. have permitted physician-assisted suicide, by statute or referendum. (In one, Montana, the state Supreme Court decreed it as a matter of state law, and legislators have tried, unsuccessfully so far, to overturn that ruling.)

The combined effect of the *Glucksberg* and *Gonzales* cases is this: If there is to be a right to die in the United States, democratic processes in the states and, possibly, Congress will establish its contours, not the lapidary phrases of a Supreme Court opinion. The resulting body of law will enjoy greater legitimacy by virtue of its having been arrived at by politically accountable lawmakers through open debate — and its being subject to amendment or repeal should experience reveal unanticipated new challenges or unintended consequences. Surely the history of *Roe v. Wade* and its repercussions — political and legal — shows the risks of shifting the discussion of all such nuances into the federal judiciary, especially when the underlying issue involves sensitive questions surrounding the beginning, and end, of life. Support Barrett or oppose her, she had a point when she wrote, in a 2013 law review article on stare decisis: “The public response to controversial cases like *Roe* reflects public rejection of the proposition that stare decisis can declare a permanent victor in a divisive constitutional struggle.” Barrett’s mentor, the late Justice Antonin Scalia, dissented in *Gonzales*, on the grounds that federal controlled-substance law requires barbiturates be used for a “legitimate medical purpose,” which, in his view, could not possibly include physician-assisted suicide. (Roberts and Thomas joined Scalia’s opinion.) For the court to adopt Scalia’s view — to overrule *Gonzales* while retaining *Glucksberg* — would tilt the current legal balance against physician-assisted suicide and euthanasia, another reason to focus on Barrett’s assertion, at the hearing, that “no one should assume” she will always do what Scalia would have. *lane@washpost.com*

MICHAEL GERSON

The three planks of Trump’s GOP

One of the most symbolic moments of campaign 2020 was when the apparatus of the Republican Party strained and groaned to produce a platform reading, “RESOLVED, That the Republican National Convention will adjourn without adopting a new platform until the 2024 Republican National Convention.” It was, in its own content-free, witless way, an assertion of power. The party that had produced a platform every four years since 1856 had become, well, anything President Trump wished at the moment. It was a declaration and recognition of personal rule. After nearly four years, it is fair to ask: With the GOP as putty in Trump’s hand, what form has it taken? What are the large, organizing commitments of the GOP during the Trump captivity? One would have to be *voter suppression*. What began, for some, as an effort to ensure ballot security has become a campaign to control the content of the electorate by limiting its size. Not long ago, I would have regarded this as conspiracy thinking. At some point, however, a pattern becomes a plot. There have been Republican efforts to make voting more difficult in Georgia, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Nevada, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Texas, Iowa and Oklahoma. These have included: complicated absentee ballot processes, strict voter ID rules, obstacles for voters returning from prison, objections to the broad distribution of ballots and logistical obstacles to early voting. The Republican governor of Texas, Greg Abbott, set the example of shamelessness by limiting vast counties to a single ballot drop box. The president has attempted to destroy trust in the whole electoral enterprise in preparation for legal challenges to mail-in votes. Again and again, Republicans have used, or attempted to use, the power they gained from voters to undermine democracy. This has a political intention but (for some) it also has an ideological explanation. It is the logical electoral implication of nativism. If too much diversity is the cause of our national problems, it can be fought by restricting immigration or by restricting the democratic participation of minorities. In either case, these are actions motivated by Republican fears of being swamped by people they can’t relate to and voted into obsolescence. So the GOP seems to expend more energy and creativity on discouraging minority voting than it does on doing minority outreach. The second characteristic of the new GOP is *denial of a pandemic in the midst of a surging pandemic*. Trump and many other Republicans think they can win only if American voters forget about more than 219,000 deaths from covid-19 and the utterly incompetent federal response to the crisis. It is hard to recall any American presidential campaign that depended so directly on the outbreak of mass amnesia. Trump’s recent campaign visit to Wisconsin was remarkable for its brazenness. On a day Wisconsin saw its highest level of new infections during the pandemic, Trump told a crowd that had to be screened for coughs and fevers that the country was “rounding the corner” on covid-19 and that their state was insufficiently open. This is denial pressed to the point of lunacy. It is the elephant urging people to ignore the elephant in the room. The third organizing commitment of the GOP under Trump is *loyalty to his person*. At the beginning of his term, there was a Republican attempt to understand the populism that elected Trump and draw its policy implications. That ended quickly. The president made clear that the only thing that really mattered about populism was its end product: himself. Populist causes — such as discrediting the media and “owning the libs” — are instruments to protect Trump from attack and project his own power. His whole term has been the chaotic and brutish attempt to find the people who would take his whims as law. And elected Republicans (except the admirable Sen. Mitt Romney of Utah) have been ruled by the fear of Trump’s tweeted tantrums. As Trump seems headed toward electoral failure, a few Republicans are recovering their own voices. But it won’t be easy to escape this taint. Years of complicity with Trump’s assault on American institutions is less like a bad haircut than an infected tattoo. Some would add a conservative judiciary to this list of GOP commitments, and there is a case to be made. But this is no longer advocated in the context of moral conservatism, as it was in the Reagan era. The goal now is to secure conservative judges from a morally anarchic administration. A cause has been reduced to a transaction. What should we make of this GOP agenda: voter suppression, disease denial and a personality cult dedicated to a con man? It is the weakest appeal to the public of any modern presidential candidate. The Republican Party may win or lose. But it deserves to lose. *michaelgerson@washpost.com*

Study: Chocolate companies rely heavily on child labor

BY PETER WHORISKEY

The world's chocolate companies depend on cocoa produced with the aid of more than 1 million West African child laborers, according to a new report sponsored by the Labor Department. The findings represent a remarkable failure by leading chocolate companies to fulfill a long-standing promise to eradicate the practice from their supply chains. Under pressure from Congress in 2001, some of the world's largest chocolatiers — including Nestlé, Hershey and Mars — pledged to eradicate “the worst forms of child labor” from their sources in West Africa, the world's most important supply. Since then, however, the firms have missed deadlines to eliminate child labor in 2005, 2008 and 2010. Each time, they have promised to do better, but the new report indicates that the incidence of child labor in West African cocoa

production has risen. A Washington Post investigation of the use of child labor in the cocoa industry found that representatives of some of the biggest and best-known brands could not guarantee that any of their chocolate was produced without child labor. One reason is that 20 years after pledging to eradicate the practice, chocolate companies still could not identify the farms where all their cocoa comes from, let alone whether child labor was used in producing it. The prevalence of child labor among agricultural households in cocoa-growing areas of Ivory Coast and Ghana, the two primary suppliers, increased from 31 percent to 45 percent between 2008 and 2019, according to the Labor Department survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago. Nearly 1.6 million children were engaged in child labor in cocoa production, according to the survey, and most of those

were involved in tasks considered hazardous, such as wielding machetes, carrying heavy loads or working with pesticides. Because of changes in methodology, the number of child laborers in the new survey is not comparable with that of the first survey, researchers said. The surveyors defined child laborers as those children working below the age of 12, or children between 12 and 18 years old who work beyond allowable hours, or any children taking part in hazardous tasks. “As this report shows, there are today still too many children in cocoa farming doing work for which they are too young, or work that endangers them,” said a statement from Richard Scobey, president of the World Cocoa Foundation, an industry group representing companies handling about 80 percent of the world's cocoa supply chain. In addressing the report, Scobey identified no industry failures. The targets “were set without

fully understanding the complexity and scale of a challenge heavily associated with poverty in rural Africa,” he said in his statement. Several nonprofit groups blame the companies, however, for falling far short of the responsibilities they assumed under their pledge in 2001. They question how an industry that rings up an estimated \$103 billion in annual sales could have made so little, if any, progress over 20 years. In December, the Supreme Court is expected to hear arguments in a case against Nestlé and Cargill involving a group of Malians who say that as adolescents, they were forced to work on Ivory Coast cocoa farms. Although the lawsuit and The Post investigation focus on forced child labor, often from children brought in from other countries, the figures in the new report do not count those workers. The “issue of forced child labor in cocoa production is important

and deserves attention,” the report said, but counting forced child laborers would require a different methodology. Terrence Collingsworth, one of the attorneys representing the Malian plaintiffs, said the problem of child labor — forced or not — arises because the 2001 pledge from the companies entailed no enforcement. “These serious human rights violations require mandatory rules with serious penalties, not empty promises from cocoa companies profiting from the exploitation of children,” he said. Regarding the lawsuit, a Nestlé statement said: “All involved agree that Nestlé never engaged in the egregious child labor alleged in this suit.” Cargill has said it has taken steps to monitor for and eradicate child labor from its West African suppliers. In response to the new report, the chocolate companies point to programs they've set up to try to monitor farms for child labor,

and say they aim to expand those. Jeff Beckman, a Hershey spokesman, said that another study by NORC shows that “where company programs are in place, child labor was reduced by one-third, showing these programs are having a positive impact.” In response to the new survey, Mars noted in a statement that it has committed \$1 billion to “help fix a broken supply chain.” “The problem of child labor is bigger than any one entity, and the solution must be grounded in an unwavering commitment to action and collaboration between farmers, communities, civil society, business, and government,” the company said. The new report, however, stands as a dismal conclusion to the high hopes inspired by the 2001 company pledge, which was negotiated by Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Rep. Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.) and has become known as the Harkin-Engel protocol. *peter.whoriskey@washpost.com*

Smaller turkeys and plant-based substitutes are in high demand, retailers say

TURKEYS FROM AI

retailers who typically solidify their plans months ahead of the holiday season. At the country's 2,500 turkey farms, farmers are trying to predict demand and processing schedules, fearing they will be stuck with too many big turkeys and not enough small ones. Processing plant operators, contending with a shorter harvest window and greater handwork in the slaughterhouse, are trying to reduce their workers' vulnerability to the coronavirus outbreaks that have ravaged poultry and beef processing plants. Retailers are scrambling to pivot in real time to more finished meals-to-go, turkey-by-the-pound, turkey parts or even plant-based products to accommodate shifts in demand. In New Carlisle, Ohio, about an hour north of Cincinnati, Drew Bowman raises 70,000 free-range turkeys annually on 145 acres at Bowman & Landes Turkeys. In a normal year, 40 percent of Bowman's business takes place in November and December for holiday meals. “We always get anxious before the holidays. It's our busiest time of the year by far, with more work to be done, longer hours, and there are always things that can go wrong,” Bowman says. “But just like any other person, this has been a year with a lot of emotions, with so much uncertainty, and as a small-business owner, it keeps you up at night worrying about the ramifications. There are a lot of unknowns for us right now.” Outside Thanksgiving season, Bowman's sales of turkey breast evaporated when demand dried up from colleges and other wholesale food-service customers. Cancellations of state fairs, theme parks and Renaissance festivals destroyed the market for turkey legs. “Our whole business model is built around having fresh turkeys. We're not in the frozen turkey business,” Bowman says. They have 10 flocks, orders placed at the hatchery a year in advance so that in the weeks before Thanksgiving, the birds mature to a range of sizes. For the holidays, Bowman usually raises 80 percent hens (females) and 20 percent toms (males), which grow much bigger — median hen size is 16 pounds, while toms are over 20. Demand will skew smaller this year, but he committed to his gender split long before the pandemic, and there is not much he can do to slow down growth, he says. “We didn't have the foresight that there might be changed consumer preferences,” he says. “And if you're growing a tom, if you kill it early, it's going to be very bony and not appetizing-looking. They don't have a lot of meat on their bones when they are smaller.” Bowman's input costs are fixed: purchasing the turkey poults (the babies, which he buys 1 day old from a hatchery in Canada); mixing, grinding and hauling vegetarian feed to the turkeys; employees to move all outdoor shelters; feed and water to care for turkeys on the range;



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Bowman & Landes Turkeys in New Carlisle, Ohio, on Sept. 18. For harvesting, the facility ramps up from 30 to 130 employees, half of whom are returning seasonal workers.

harvesting and processing costs; bags and boxes for packaging turkeys — the list is long. Other animal proteins have a 12-month sales cycle; turkeys' rhythm is more staccato. Growers can't just harvest birds younger to keep them smaller, and a pivot to frozen is not practical or financially feasible for Bowman. Fresh turkey requires special handling, has its own supply chain and commands a much higher price than frozen. Bowman's fresh turkeys go for about \$3.69 per pound retail, and he has a special line of Non-GMO Project Verified, free-range whole turkeys retailing for about \$4.19 per pound. If everything goes right with Bowman's 70,000 turkeys, that's more than \$4 million in sales. Frozen commodity turkeys, on the other hand, can be \$1 per pound or less, sometimes even free, with grocery stores using them frequently as a loss leader to get folks into stores for the rest of the holiday's myriad ingredients. Bowman has his own Agriculture Department slaughter facility. For harvesting, he ramps up his employees from about 30 to 130, half of whom are returning seasonal employees, and the other half must be trained from scratch. Turkey processing, he says, is a manual endeavor, with little automation. There is too much variation from bird to bird to allow for machine work — so it's evisceration, scalding, picking, etc., by hand. He says that this year, they are adding divid-

ers between work stations, laying in personal protective equipment for workers and putting social distancing protocols in place. And in the fresh turkey business, where timing is everything, an outbreak could shut him down. Cliff Pollard, founder of Cream Co. Meats, a USDA-certified processing facility based in Oakland, Calif., says the biggest risk right now for turkey farmers is slaughter. Meat-processing facilities have witnessed massive coronavirus outbreaks in recent months, prompting closures, slower line speeds and even the destruction of live animals that had nowhere to be processed. This will be no different for the annual holiday turkey harvest. “For the small, sustainable farmers who raise a certain number of turkeys to sell fresh just for Thanksgiving, that's going to be a problem this year. There's going to be a huge bottleneck in terms of what those ranchers do. The biggest negative impact will be on the smaller growers who committed to their chicks in January.” Small, fresh turkey producers have minimums at the slaughterhouse, Pollard says. “Typically, in the 300- to 500-flock range, you have to bring all your birds in at once and have them slaughtered at the same time. There's a lot of coordination on the ground — cold storage, packaging, transportation — a lot goes into the timing of Thanksgiving,” he says. His company has been discussing next steps with

the naturally raised turkey farmers it works with to determine how to be nimble despite having begun to raise their birds months ago. The United States is the world's largest turkey producer and its largest exporter, with 10 percent of production going abroad, according to the USDA. Turkey consumption has doubled since 1970, when Americans ate eight pounds per capita. In 2019, domestic consumption of turkey reached 5.3 billion pounds, 16 pounds per person, according to the USDA. Turkey production was valued at \$4.3 billion in 2019. But this year, Butterball, one of the country's largest producers of turkey products, projects a sizable increase in “immediate-family-only” celebrations, according to spokeswoman Christa Leupen. The specifics of what dinner may look like has shifted as well. Butterball said its research suggests consumers are looking for ways to make Thanksgiving easier or simpler and are open to premade sides and reducing the number of visits to the store. The Butterball Turkey Talk Line, which for 39 years has been answering consumers' Thanksgiving cooking questions, is predicting greater demand than ever from panicked first-time cooks asking about thawing times and cooking temps. The Kroger grocery chain, also anticipating an uptick in first-time holiday cooks, projects that an increase in demand for other,

more familiar proteins like ham, beef, pork roast and seafood will cut into turkey's dominance, says Kristal Howard, director of corporate communications. Pollard says the biggest change will be people thinking a whole turkey is “too much,” opting instead for other entrees or for turkey parts, which will shut out farmers like Bowman. “If that's what they are doing, they will likely be buying a more industrialized bird. It's more difficult for a small heritage farmer to break a turkey down into parts,” Pollard says. Ariane Daguin, founder of premium meat company D'Artagnan, says the pandemic's push toward smaller birds continues a subtle trend in recent years as family units get smaller. “Some people have gone down to a duck or goose, but still, when you're talking about Thanksgiving this year, a huge majority of Americans will stick with turkey,” she says. “Everything is falling apart, so we cling to tradition.” She says many consumers will buy just a turkey breast, if everybody in the family likes white meat, or a fully prepared dinner from a retailer. “If they don't, they have to accept having leftovers for 10 days,” she says. Another trend that has been supercharged by the pandemic may also interfere with Americans' turkey-eating traditions: the rise of plant-based meat substitutes. The Good Food Institute, a nonprofit organization that

promotes the products, says more consumers have been eating plant-based meals since the pandemic began. Tofurky, one of the longtime soy-based turkey alternatives, says it has seen a spike in early holiday orders from its retail partners. Howard says Kroger's family of stores has increased selections of plant-based proteins to meet the growing demand for vegan, vegetarian and flexitarian options, including meatless roasts. Nicole Johnson, director of the Butterball Turkey Talk Line, and her colleagues have been prepping for the holiday via the Teams platform. This year's seven rookie experts are doing their preseason kitchen and digital training remotely, tinkering with turkey-cooking conundrums in their own kitchens. Johnson says in an average year, they get 100,000 calls, texts and chats, with 15,000 inquiries on Thanksgiving Day alone. Each of the talk-line experts work nine- or 10-hour shifts on the big day, answering the same questions: How do I thaw? Do I buy a fresh or frozen bird? Do I need to baste? Should I buy a meat thermometer? “I think we're going to be busier than ever,” she says. “With smaller gatherings and people not going out to restaurants, I think our numbers are going to soar. And I think part of our job this year is trying to celebrate the good.” *laura.reiley@washpost.com*

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The Washington Post



50115-6x1.25



8 a.m.

59°



Noon

70°



4 p.m.

78°



8 p.m.

69°

High today at approx. 4 p.m.

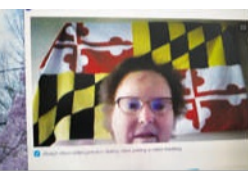
78°

Precip: 10%

Wind: SSW 6-12 mph

JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON

Amid the pandemic, high school reunion organizers are deciding to delay, cancel and innovate. **B3**



VIRGINIA

Meet the three candidates running for two open seats on the five-member Arlington School Board. **B5**



OBITUARIES

Singer Johnny Bush's honky-tonk hit "Whiskey River" became a signature song for Willie Nelson. **B5**

D.C. adds eight states to its 'high-risk' travel list

BY MICHAEL BRICE-SADDLER, RACHEL CHASON AND DANA HEDGPETH

D.C. health officials added eight states Monday to the city's list of locations considered "high-risk" for travel because of the coronavirus pandemic, raising the total number of states under the designation to 39 as new cases continue to surge across the country.

The growing number of states on the city's travel advisory would mean three in four resi-

Number grows to 39 amid rising coronavirus cases across country

dents of the country are required to quarantine before nonessential travel in the nation's capital. It comes amid record rates of infection in several states and elevated levels of spread across the Washington region.

A state is considered high-risk

if its seven-day rolling average of new coronavirus cases is 10 or more per 100,000 people. Under an order from Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D), anyone who comes to the city from a high-risk state for nonessential reasons must self-quarantine for two weeks.

Those who arrive in D.C. from one of the states for essential purposes are asked to self-monitor for symptoms for two weeks.

No states were removed from the list Monday, but Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Penn-

sylvania and Rhode Island were added. Maryland and Virginia remain exempt from the order.

"We still see about a quarter of our cases related to travel," Bowser said, suggesting residents adhere to guidance the city will release in the coming days on Thanksgiving and holiday season travel. "We continue to emphasize to D.C. residents to avoid unnecessary travel."

About 243 million Americans — roughly 75 percent of the population — live in states that

SEE REGION ON **B2**

New cases in region

Through 5 p.m. Monday, 1,212 new coronavirus cases were reported in the District, Maryland and Virginia, bringing the total number of cases to 319,377.

D.C.	MD.	VA.
+25	+497	+690
16,395	136,154	166,828

Coronavirus-related deaths

As of 5 p.m. Monday:

D.C.	MD.*	VA.
+0	+4	+24
641	4,041	3,457

* Includes probable covid-19 deaths

Review of VMI's culture ordered

STATE WILL FUND OUTSIDE INQUIRY

Black cadets had detailed widespread racism

BY IAN SHAPIRA

Virginia Gov. Ralph Northam (D) ordered an investigation into the culture at the Virginia Military Institute on Monday after Black cadets and alumni described relentless racism at the nation's oldest state-supported military college.

The governor, who graduated in VMI's Class of 1981, co-wrote a letter to the college's Board of Visitors informing it that the state will fund an independent probe into the school's treatment of its Black students.

His action followed a Washington Post story detailing a lynching threat, Klan reminiscences and Confederacy veneration at the Lexington school, whose cadets fought and died for the slaveholding South during the Civil War.

The letter — signed by Northam, Lt. Gov. Justin Fairfax (D), Attorney General Mark R. Herring (D), and several House and Senate leaders, including Del. Lamont Bagby (D-Henrico), the chair of the Virginia Legislative Black Caucus — said the state is directing an "independent, third-party review" of what officials called "the clear and appalling culture of ongoing structural racism at the Virginia Military Institute."

"Black cadets at VMI have long faced repeated instances of racism on campus, including horrifying new revelations of threats about lynching, vicious attacks on social media, and even a professor who spoke fondly of her family's history in the Ku Klux Klan — to say nothing of inconsistent application of the Institute's Honor Code," the letter said. "In addition, VMI cadets continue to be educated in a physical environment that honors the Confederacy and celebrates an inaccurate and dangerous 'Lost Cause' version of Virginia's history. It is

SEE VMI ON **B4**

Park Police in Ghaisar slaying surrender

Two officers arraigned and released on bond in motorist's shooting

BY TOM JACKMAN

U.S. Park Police Officers Alejandro Amaya and Lucas Vinyard surrendered at the Fairfax County jail early Monday on warrants charging them with involuntary manslaughter and reckless use of a firearm in the 2017 slaying of unarmed motorist Bijan Ghaisar.

Both officers were booked into the jail and appeared in green jumpsuits by videoconference for their arraignment later Monday morning before Fairfax Circuit Judge Richard E. Gardiner. He allowed both to be released on a \$10,000 personal recognizance bond, meaning they did not have to pay to be let go but will owe \$10,000 if they fail to appear for

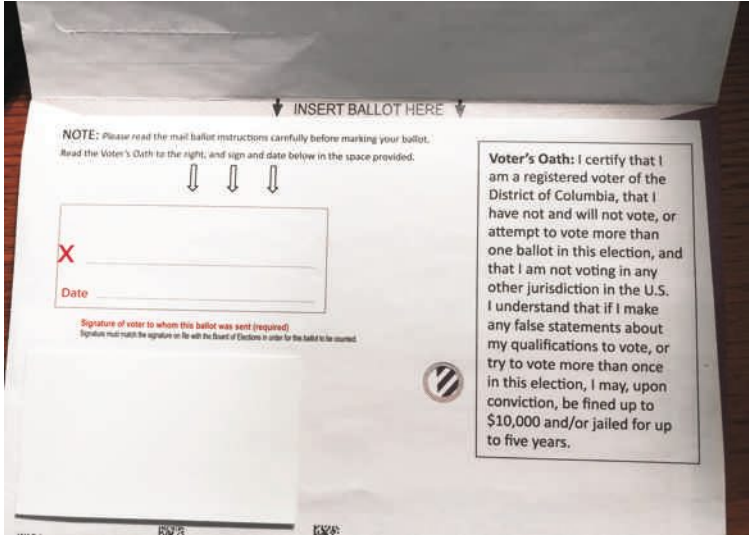
SEE GH AISAR ON **B4**



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST



THE WASHINGTON POST



GRAEME JENNINGS/BLOOMBERG NEWS

Verifying a mountain of mailed ballots

More than 60,000 ballots have already been mailed to the D.C. Board of Elections or left in a secure drop box. Before they can be counted, each must be inspected for a valid signature.

It's a multitiered safeguard that will be used more than ever before in this election, with the District sending ballots to all voters and unprecedented numbers expected to mail them in or drop them off because of the coronavirus pandemic.

Signature matching, intended to confirm the identities of voters who do not vote in person, is a technique employed in the District and 32 states.

After the D.C. elections board receives a signed and completed ballot, the signature is paired electronically with one on file. (Generally, it's the signature on

Signatures are D.C.'s primary check against election fraud — but some voters are worried theirs won't match up

BY MICHAEL BRICE-SADDLER

your D.C. driver's license or voter registration form.) A staff member then checks to see whether the signatures match. If there's a discrepancy, the ballot is sent to a manager for a second inspection.

If the manager confirms the discrepancy, the board will contact the voter to correct the problem before Nov. 13, the latest date the board can accept a mail ballot that was postmarked by Election Day.

Heightened attention to the process during this year's polarized presidential election — fueled by the emphasis on mail-in voting and attacks on such ballots by President Trump and his allies — has caused some D.C. residents to worry about how their signature has changed over time and whether their

SEE VOTING ON **B2**

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Simone Stringfellow, 19, registers to vote for the first time. D.C. Board of Elections staff member LaVonna McCann talks to local basketball greats Phil Chenier, left, and Harvey Grant at a voter registration event this month in Southeast Washington. A voter deposits a ballot into a D.C. drop box. A D.C. mailed ballot showing the line where voters are required to sign. Signatures are checked against others on file.

To get votes, families are cutting deals



Petula Dvorak

Two weeks before the election, and we're well into the bargaining stage of the voting process. All kinds of deals are being made. "I told my mom, 'Feel free in four years, vote for a Republican, anyone who is reasonable,'" Dave McDonnell, 44, said about a conversation with his mother, who is one of this election's pivotal voters in the swing state of Pennsylvania.

"But just this year, this year's different. I just ask that you don't vote for Trump," I told her. I think she's under a lot of pressure from my siblings, too," said McDonnell, an engineer in

Baltimore. Amid all the get-out-and-vote cheerleading, postcard writing and phone banking, folks are trying to see if they can make a difference among the people they know best. And they're being ruthless.

"I told them they can't see their grandkids anymore if they vote for him," Sheerie, a 36-year-old mother of four in Roswell, Ga., told me about her desperation to break through with her Trump-loving parents. "I just don't think they can hold those views and be with the kids."

This is the brother-against-brother part of the battle. Families and friends who could once put politics aside over turkey and birthday cake are

now firmly cleaved. It's crunchtime. And some are using everything they have to change minds.

"Desperate times, absurdist measures," wrote author and television writer David Simon, in the bargain he is offering to his fans on Twitter.

Simon's famous not only for creating and writing the acclaimed television shows "The Wire," "Treme" and "The Deuce" — his Twitter zingers are like an award-winning micro-series, and he's using them in a new strategy to sway voters.

"If you voted Trump, or 3rd party, or sat out 2016 and are now willing to end vile misrule by voting for Biden," he wrote, "send a photo of you in voting

SEE DVORAK ON **B3**

Arguments heard over Lee statue's removal

Budget language backs Va.'s move to take down memorial, state says

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

RICHMOND — The Civil War itself seemed to be on trial Monday in the former capital of the Confederacy, as a circuit court judge heard arguments in a lawsuit challenging Gov. Ralph Northam's effort to take down the statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee on Monument Avenue and lawyers debated the root causes of the

nation's most divisive conflict.

The suit was brought by a small group of local residents and hinges, in part, on a deed the state legislature accepted in 1889 promising to protect the memorial forever. The state attorney general's office argued that the whole case is moot because the General Assembly adopted language in the state budget Friday night that sets aside money to take down the statue and repeals the original resolution accepting the deed.

State Solicitor General Toby Heytens argued that the General Assembly's vote is also a clear statement of public policy, show-

SEE STATUE ON **B4**

MARYLAND

Elrich veto blocks tax break for high-rises

Bill to boost development above Metro stations passed council 7 to 2

BY REBECCA TAN

Montgomery County Executive Marc Elrich (D) has issued his first veto since taking office nearly two years ago, rejecting a bill that would provide tax breaks for developers seeking to build high-rise buildings above Metro stations.

While Elrich said the government “simply cannot afford” the incentive at a time when the coronavirus pandemic is ravaging the economy, advocates and most members of the Montgomery County Council say Friday’s veto would block much-needed development and affordable housing.

The bill passed the County Council 7 to 2 this month, with Vice President Tom Hucker (D-District 5) and member Will Jawando (D-At Large) voting against it.

Lawmakers will need at least six votes to override the veto. Council member Hans Riemer (D-At Large), a frequent critic of Elrich and one of the co-sponsors of the bill, said he expects the lawmakers who supported the proposal to “stick with it” when they vote again next week.

“High-rise development on top of the Metro is the very essence of smart growth,” Riemer said.

Like the rest of the Washington region, Montgomery faces a dire shortage of affordable housing. Regional experts said last year that the county of 1 million and neighboring jurisdictions need to build at least 320,000 new housing units between 2020 and 2030, which is 75,000 more than are currently forecast to be built.

The bill, Riemer said, would en-



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

County Executive Marc Elrich (D) says Montgomery “simply cannot afford” the bill; advocates say it would increase affordable housing.

courage private developers to build housing on top of transit stations by exempting them from having to pay property taxes for 15 years. In return, a developer must ensure that its building is at least 50 percent rental housing and that a quarter of the moderately priced dwelling units required by the county are affordable to households that earn less than 50 percent of the county’s area median income.

The council staff estimates that the proposal could help create up to 8,500 new affordable units at Metro properties.

But Elrich, who was elected in 2018 over opposition from developers and the business community, said the bill “would make no difference at all” in increasing the suburb’s supply of affordable housing, arguing that a vast majority of the units created would be market price. He said in an interview that he thinks housing built over Metro stations would be expensive and that “the idea of subsidizing high-end housing is absurd.”

Jawando agreed that the bill would provide “little public benefit” and said it would set “a dangerous precedent” to give a blanket tax break for all projects without first assessing if it’s necessary.

Elrich said the tax abatement would deprive the county of up to \$400 million in potential revenue at a time when it is facing up to \$600 million in projected shortfalls. The bill’s supporters on the council called that assertion disingenuous, since there are not currently any properties to be taxed at those locations.

Private developers have not built high-rise projects above most Metro stations and are unlikely to without a targeted incentive, Riemer said. Projects built at those locations would still have to pay impact taxes under the proposal, he added, and could attract new residents who contribute income taxes to the county.

“If these are developments that were going to happen anyway, there’s no need for this incentive,” Riemer added. “But it’s not.”

The tax abatement had been endorsed by the chair of the Montgomery County Planning Board, Casey Anderson; the Sierra Club environmental group; and the pro-transit groups Action Committee for Transit and the Coalition for Smarter Growth.

“This will incentivize new development now, at a time when the county needs economic development, jobs, and housing,” Jane Lyons of the Coalition for Smarter Growth said in a statement Friday.

Lyons said in an interview that she was disappointed in Elrich’s veto. While the proposal would not be a “silver bullet” to solve housing woes, she said, it would be a step in the right direction.

This is not the first time Elrich has found himself sparring with the County Council over housing. In 2019, he said he would not adopt housing targets set by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments and the Urban Institute, placing him at odds with Montgomery lawmakers as well as with other public officials in the region.

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D.C. debuts mobile contact-tracing tool

REGION FROM B1

are included in the city’s travel advisory. About 85 million people live in states that aren’t part of the advisory, with most of them in California and New York.

D.C. health officials on Monday also unveiled a new contact-tracing tool, called the DC Covid Alert Notice (DC CAN), meant to inform residents if they were potentially exposed to the coronavirus.

Residents with a smartphone will receive a push notification beginning Tuesday asking them to opt in to voluntary exposure notifications, D.C. Health Director LaQuandra Nesbitt said. iPhone users will be able to opt in through their phone’s settings, while Android users will be prompted to download an app.

The service creates private, random Bluetooth “keys” for each phone user and shares that data with other DC CAN users nearby, Nesbitt said, including strangers encountered in a park or restaurant. Residents who test positive for the coronavirus will be given a code by D.C. health officials to enter into the service, which will notify everyone who received that individual’s Bluetooth key during the previous 14 days.

Nesbitt emphasized that the technology does not track location and said people who test positive for the coronavirus are not identified to other users, or to Apple or Google.

She said that DC CAN works with tracing tools in other states that use the same platform but noted that Maryland doesn’t have such an exposure notification tool and Virginia has a state-specific app that is not compatible with D.C.’s system.

“This tool will only be useful if we have widespread participation,” Nesbitt said. “So we need as many people to opt in.”

The rolling seven-day average of new daily infections across Virginia, Maryland and D.C. on Monday stood at 1,703. Daily caseloads rose during much of October but have plateaued at an elevated rate for about a week.

Health experts have warned for months that colder weather



ALEX BRANDON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

An order by D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser says those arriving from a high-risk state for nonessential reasons must self-quarantine.

could prompt people to spend more time indoors — increasing the potential for the virus’s spread — as outdoor social activities become less appealing. The regional rise has coincided with an outbreak in coronavirus cases at the White House, although local health officials said there is no clear connection.

As the holiday season approaches, health experts are warning that small gatherings are the source for much of the virus’s recent spread.

Neil J. Sehgal, an assistant professor of health policy and management at the University of Maryland School of Public Health, said caseload trends show that it is “less safe to travel now than it was a month ago” and that “it will be less safe in a month than it is today.”

On Maryland’s Eastern Shore, Gov. Larry Hogan (R) announced Monday the creation of a \$10 million relief fund to provide support to poultry growers and farmers affected by the pandemic.

Hogan made the announcement with Delaware Gov. John Carney (D), who announced the creation of a twin program in his state. Poultry workers in both states have experienced coronavirus outbreaks, which had the ripple effect of hurting the industry.

“Far too often our farmers don’t get the respect or the appre-

ciation they deserve, but I want our entire agriculture community to know that your commitment to our state and to our agriculture industry does not go unnoticed,” Hogan said at a news conference in Hurlock after a roundtable discussion with farmers.

Under the program announced Monday, the Maryland Department of Agriculture will issue direct payments of \$1,000 per poultry house, up to five houses per farm. Growers who lost chickens will be eligible for an extra \$1,500 per house.

The program will also provide a 15 percent bonus to Maryland farmers who received federal funding in the first round of payments. Federal funding is not available to contract poultry workers.

The greater Washington region recorded 1,212 additional coronavirus cases and 28 new deaths Monday. Virginia on Monday added 690 new coronavirus cases and 24 deaths, Maryland added 497 cases and four deaths, and D.C. added 25 cases and no deaths.

The region’s number of new cases Monday was the lowest in a single day across the region since Oct. 7.

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D.C.’s signature verification has some voters concerned

VOTING FROM B1

ballot could be rejected.

Carolinn Kuebler, an advisory neighborhood commissioner in Van Ness whose constituency includes many seniors, said she has fielded questions from voters who registered for the first time 40 or 50 years ago.

“Given how fraught this election is, they’re very, very concerned their votes won’t count,” Kuebler said. “There are so many people voting remotely — now there’s this lingering concern [the elections board] will see their signature and toss the ballot.”

The elections board does not offer a way for voters to check the signature they have on file. But board spokesman Nick Jacobs said officials account for changes by collecting signatures from multiple sources, including the Department of Motor Vehicles, signed petitions and poll books from previous elections.

“We’re able to see the alterations in signatures. We get that, as people age, signatures change, so that’s why we use those multiple sources,” Jacobs said. “For the concerns some people have raised — my middle initial is included here, and not there — we account for all those possibilities.”

Neither Maryland nor Virginia use signature matching to verify voter identity. Ballots in these states are rejected if the voter forgets to sign altogether.

D.C. election officials say about 1 percent of the 76,000 mail-in ballots submitted during the city’s June primary election were rejected — mostly for issues with voters’ signatures.

A “very tiny number” of ballots cast so far in the general election have been flagged for signature issues, Jacobs said. The board has already started contacting these voters to fix, or “cure,” any problems.

South Dakota, Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee are the only states that verify ballot signatures but do not have a



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

policy for curing signatures, according to the New York Times.

“Most of them match. We don’t want people fretting over that unnecessarily,” said Alice Miller, executive director of the D.C. Board of Elections. “But we have to do something to verify if it’s the voter.”

Concerns about signatures have spiked this year, in part, election officials say, because the city is sending out so many more mailed ballots than usual. Reports on social media that some D.C. voters were mailed

multiple ballots, often belonging to former or deceased residents, added to voter suspicions and questions.

Jacobs said the elections board has received dozens of complaints about ballots that were sent to the wrong address and is advising voters to return these ballots to the elections office so officials can update their records. (Just mark the envelope “return to sender” and leave it in your mailbox.)

“In terms of people getting multiple ballots, it’s been the

most prevalent issue voters have commented on,” Jacobs said. “Keep in mind, D.C. is one of the most transient cities on the face of the planet. There are a lot of people moving in and out, and people forget to update their voter registration.”

D.C. updates its voter rolls by checking death records and, after each general election, contacting people who didn’t vote to ask if they still live at the address on file. But many people don’t fill out and return these canvass cards, even after multiple at-

D.C. native and former Redskins wide receiver Josh Morgan shows off his T-shirt message during a voter registration event this month at the Entertainment and Sports Arena in Southeast Washington.

tempts to reach them, Miller said. And city regulations say the District cannot remove a living but inactive voter from its rolls until that person has failed to vote in at least three consecutive general elections.

The D.C. Board of Elections is also a member of the Electronic Registration Information Center, a coalition of 30 states and federal enclaves that share voter registration data.

Marc Meredith, an associate professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, said the number of people moving in and out of the District presents it with more challenges than many states. If the city continues to increase its use of mail voting, he said, it may have to devise new policies to help keep up with where those ballots should be sent.

But Meredith called voters receiving multiple ballots an exception to the rule and said that, even then, people are unlikely to use a ballot intended for someone else to commit fraud. He also pointed to safeguards, such as signature matching, as effective deterrents.

“We know from political science research the rates of voter fraud, whether it be mailed ballots or at a polling place, is extremely low,” he said. “There just isn’t evidence people use opportunities that arise to commit voter fraud in the rare instances where they come up.”

D.C. voters can track the location of their mailed or dropped-off ballot using a new online tool (votedc.ballottrax.net/voter) that also indicates if there are any problems. Voters will hear directly from an election official if there is an issue with their ballot or signature, Jacobs said.

“We’ll move as fast as possible to reach out to voters if there’s a signature issue and get it fixed,” he added. “We’ll make multiple opportunities to the voter to have their ballot counted.”

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Subscriber Exclusives

The Washington Post

Tomorrow at 2:00 p.m. ET: Free to State - The New Free Speech

Attitudes toward free expression are evolving as more of our discourse takes place online and concerns about the growing preponderance of “lawful but awful” content and discourse mount. Today’s young adults struggle to reconcile the value of a radically permissive free speech culture on the one hand, and support for inclusivity on the other. At the same time, many young activists have found agency and voice in recent protests for racial equality, a right enshrined by the First Amendment and its interpretation by American jurisprudence. Join Washington Post Live and president of the University of Chicago Robert J. Zimmer on October 21 for a discussion about the future of free expression. Washington Post Live is the newsroom’s live journalism platform.

Join the conversation at [WashingtonPostLive.com](#).



'50 plus 1': Pandemic postpones high school reunions — or moves them online



John Kelly's Washington

This was not the greatest year to graduate from high school. Because of the pandemic, odds are you didn't have a traditional graduation ceremony if you're a member of the Class of 2020.

And if you're a member of the Class of 2010, 2000, 1990, 1980, 1970 or 1960, you probably didn't have a high school reunion, either. With the virus lurking everywhere, now is not the time for large gatherings, no matter how curious you are to see what happened to the homecoming king and queen.

This spring, reunion committees all over the Washington area had to decide whether their reunions would be postponed for a few months or canceled entirely. For the Class of 1960 from Georgetown's Holy Trinity School, that meant rescheduling a 60th reunion from April to June, and then canceling it in the hope that classmates can gather in 2021.

"We're in a wait-and-see mode now," said **Lucille Greer**

Maloney, one of 60 students who graduated from Holy Trinity in 1960.

"I want to see these people again," Lucille said. But they want to be safe about it. And that means waiting until there's a vaccine.

"We have enough trouble recognizing people without masks," said Lucille, who lives in McLean. "Put them on and it's going to be a mess."

With the classmates all pushing 80, there's no guarantee people who would have attended this spring will be around to attend next year.

But perhaps it will spur some classmates to hold on. That happened with the 50th reunion, a decade ago.

"We had three people who made it to the reunion who died that summer," Lucille said. "Somebody said they were holding on for the reunion. It was meaningful for them. And it was meaningful for us to see them."

Julie Gerkens is among the organizers of Oakton High School's Class of 1970 reunion. They canceled this year's 50th and plan to have a "50 plus 1" reunion next year.



Forty-two members of Walter Johnson High's Class of 1970 recently attended a virtual cocktail hour on Zoom after their fall reunion was canceled. They hope to have a proper one next year.

"First of all, people don't want to fly," said Julie, who lives in Fairfax. "Secondly, if you get together in a room and everybody has masks on, it's hard to tell who the people are if you haven't seen them for 50 years."

Organizers know there are risks.

"The longer you wait at this age, the more you have people that are sick or gone," Julie said.

"We're hoping that next fall, things will be such that we can do something like this."

Catherine Duff is one of more than 660 students who graduated in 1970 from Walter Johnson High in Bethesda. They were supposed to reunite this fall. The pandemic put paid to that.

"We were so disappointed," said Catherine, a retired teacher

who lives in Bowie.

They're hoping to have a proper reunion next year, but in the interim they tried something different: On a recent Saturday afternoon, Catherine and 41 of her classmates attended a virtual cocktail hour over Zoom.

"It went really, really well," Catherine said.

The organizers sent out a detailed program on how the event would work. A couple that dated in high school and are still married served as emcees.

Attendees took turns giving a brief update on what they'd been up to since high school. The sound of a cow mooing meant your time was drawing near an end. A cowbell meant you were cut off.

The meeting had been set up so that after the introductions, groups of six could go into breakout rooms to chat. But the two and a half hours flew by so quickly, they never got to the breakout rooms.

Catherine sipped merlot while offering her update and listening to the others. The Zoom meeting had some advantages over an in-person reunion, where — like that uncomfortable moment in the cafeteria each day — you have to decide whom to sit with.

"At a dinner, you wouldn't talk to some people," Catherine said. "I would not have heard from all 41 of my classmates. So that was interesting."

Some people were emotional on the chat. Yes, everyone was older and age brings perspective, but Catherine thinks the more reflective mood was brought on by the pandemic.

"Everybody has had enough time this spring and summer to reflect upon things in their lives," she said. "People are a little more open to, 'Was I the mean girl in high school? Was I the one who helped the kid who was being picked on?'"

Catherine said the Class of 1970 may reunite online again in January. And when they finally do meet in person, the Zoom reunion — with its clear images and names in the corner — will have had another benefit: "I won't spend time saying, 'Who is that guy?'"

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For previous columns, visit [washingtonpost.com/john-kelly](https://www.washingtonpost.com/john-kelly).

PETULA DVORAK

In election's bargaining stage, loved ones go to great lengths to change minds

DVORAK FROM B1

line or your mail-in ballot and I'll send a written apology for killing any TV character. #HonorSystem."

He's going to be writing a lot of letters. But then again, he's killed a lot of characters.

Actress and former model Melissa Stetten doesn't need to use her social media to work on her fans. She's using it to persuade her Michigan family to change their votes.

"The only reason I still have Facebook is to convince my dumb a-- old relatives in Michigan to not vote for Trump and that QAnon isn't real," she wrote on Twitter. I asked her how her campaign is going.

"Oh it's going VERY poorly," she wrote in response.

A friend of our family said that she's out of arguments and bargaining chips to persuade her relatives to vote the way she thinks is best for the country.

"I'm contemplating a fake cardiac arrest or some other emergency on California voting day, so they get distracted and don't vote . . . is that wrong?" she joked on Facebook.

("That is patriotic," someone responded.)

Because in this election, it's about more than the clash between musty but forgivable old-world ways and younger values. The emboldened bigotry, xenophobia, sexism, anti-Semitism and racism that tracks

No matter who wins, or who voted for whom, the next family reunion will be rocky.

with the rise of Trumpism makes for a worrisome American future.

And that brings us to the ultimate bargaining chip: the future itself.

"We have a plan to get my mom grandkids," writer and comic Ashley Nicole Black wrote on Twitter. ". . . it's very comprehensive, and it does involve raising taxes on billionaires."

In other words — want grandkids? Vote Joe Biden (who will also raise taxes for the super-wealthy).

It may have been just a funny line. But it was inspiration to one writer, who suggested a grandkid strike — the very creation of that next generation

— would be one way to change votes.

"The point is, your parents will be forced to decide which is more important to them: their ill-informed allegiance to trickle-down economics, or their ability to lavish love upon a squishy, nice-smelling, giggly little cutie patootie," Christina Cauterucci wrote in Slate.

Funny. But with a little ring of truth.

Because for many families, these aren't petty fights. There are deep, painful divides that happen because we are no longer having intellectual parries about policy and politics. These divisions are about race, justice, equality and morality.

"It's not just a fight," said

Sheerie, the mom from Georgia who plans to keep her kids away from her Trump-loving parents. "This breaks my heart. But [my parents] are telling [my kids] things that aren't true. My dad keeps buying more guns and ammo; he's stockpiling . . . My mom is telling them we are holding them prisoner because there is no covid."

Sheerie, like many of us, can't wait for the election to be over. And no matter who wins, or who voted for whom, the next family reunion will be rocky.

"We just all have to be gentle," she said. "And forgiving. Because it's going to take years to undo what has been done."

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LOCAL DIGEST

THE DISTRICT

Low-flying helicopter maps natural radiation

A helicopter flying low over the Washington area Monday was measuring naturally occurring background radiation as part of security efforts for the Jan. 20 presidential inauguration, according to the Energy Department's National Nuclear Security Administration.

The agency said flights in and around the District will continue, possibly until Nov. 6. Two flights are scheduled each day, and a total of 20 to 25 hours are required to complete the survey.

The twin-engine Bell 412 helicopter, with radiation-sensing equipment, flies in a grid pattern as low as 150 feet, traveling about 80 mph. The flights will allow officials to update their maps showing radiation caused by natural decay, the agency said. This survey can then be used as a baseline in case a nuclear or radiological incident occurs.

The National Nuclear Security

Administration is responsible for the safety, security and effectiveness of the nation's nuclear weapons, and responds to nuclear and radiological emergencies. The agency's Nuclear Emergency Support Team is conducting the flights.

In a statement, the agency said the flights are "part of standard preparations to protect public health and safety" during the inauguration.

— Peter Hermann

Man fatally shot in SE's Marshall Heights area

A man was fatally shot early Monday in the Marshall Heights neighborhood of Southeast Washington, D.C. police said.

The shooting occurred shortly after 1 a.m. in the 5000 block of Queens Stroll Place SE. Police said the victim was found injured on a sidewalk and was pronounced dead at a hospital.

Police identified the man as David Jefferson, 58. A news release from police says Jefferson has no fixed address. But a police

report lists an address for him on the street on which he was shot.

— Peter Hermann

MARYLAND

Man dies after crash involving 3 vehicles

A District man was fatally injured Monday in a three-vehicle crash in Prince George's County, Maryland state police said.

Mamadou Lompo, 36, was driving on the right shoulder of southbound Interstate 95 at the Capital Beltway shortly before 1 p.m. when his car hit a wood chipper being towed by a box truck parked on the shoulder, police said. His car then went into the southbound travel lanes and struck a tractor-trailer, the police said. Lompo died at a hospital, they said.

— Martin Weil

Sheriff: Man in custody in Waldorf homicide

A man was arrested in Georgia

on Monday in connection with the killing of a convenience store clerk in Charles County, Md., this month, the county sheriff's office said.

The sheriff's office said Gregory DeShawn Collins Jr., 22, of Waldorf, was taken into custody in connection with the death of Lynn Marie Maher, who was shot Oct. 1 during an armed robbery of a 7-Eleven store on Middletown Road in Waldorf.

Sheriff's office officials said Collins was awaiting extradition. An arrest warrant is to be served on his return to Maryland, the office said. The office didn't say what charge is in the warrant.

— Martin Weil

LOTTERIES

Results from Oct. 19

DISTRICT

Day/DC-3:	7-8-0
DC-4:	3-2-8-1
DC-5:	4-3-3-1-4
Night/DC-3 (Sun.):	6-5-5
DC-3 (Mon.):	4-2-0
DC-4 (Sun.):	9-8-0-2
DC-4 (Mon.):	0-3-1-4
DC-5 (Sun.):	5-2-5-1-9
DC-5 (Mon.):	9-1-2-9-5

MARYLAND

Mid-Day Pick 3:	7-7-1
Mid-Day Pick 4:	1-9-0-1
Night/Pick 3 (Sun.):	7-6-8
Pick 3 (Mon.):	1-2-0
Pick 4 (Mon.):	0-9-6-9
Pick 4 (Sun.):	8-0-9-1
Multi-Match:	1-16-23-35-39-42
Match 5 (Sun.):	10-23-25-30-37 *8
Match 5 (Mon.):	8-14-19-24-34 *27
5 Card Cash:	8C-4D-5D-4S-2H

VIRGINIA

Day/Pick-3:	3-2-2
Pick-4:	4-0-0-4
Cash-5:	7-12-28-29-34
Night/Pick-3 (Sun.):	2-0-9
Pick-3 (Mon.):	6-8-9
Pick-4 (Sun.):	7-0-3-9
Pick-4 (Mon.):	7-1-8-8
Cash-5 (Sun.):	10-14-16-17-32
Cash-5 (Mon.):	16-21-22-24-29

MULTI-STATE GAMES

Cash 4 Life:	23-24-30-34-58 ¶3
Lucky for Life:	11-17-23-34-41 ¶7

*Bonus Ball ‡Lucky Ball ¶Cash Ball

For late drawings and other results, check [washingtonpost.com/local/lottery](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/lottery)

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Judge considers Lee statue’s removal

STATUE FROM B1

ing that the governor's action is in step with the changing times. “We think that just ends this case,” Heytens told Circuit Judge W. Reilly Marchant as the one-day trial got underway. But lawyer Patrick McSweeney, representing the plaintiffs, argued that the General Assembly's action is unconstitutional because it targets a matter of pending litigation. “This raises separation-of-powers questions,” McSweeney said. Marchant, who said he expected to rule on the case in seven to 10 days, pushed back against both sides during more than six hours of testimony and arguments. The budget language, tucked among dozens of arcane amendments adopted late Friday, smacks of “special legislation,” Marchant said — improper laws aimed at helping or excluding one particular group or interest. On the other hand, he told McSweeney, it's not up to him to decide whether the amendment

is constitutional. Instead, Marchant said he was looking for evidence of changes in public policy so dramatic that they make it legal to violate the covenants of the original deeds to the property. “Is the fact that all those legislators voted for it evidence of public policy?” Marchant asked. McSweeney suggested he should ignore the vote, but the judge responded, “Is it your position I should put blinders on? . . . That's a complicated issue.” The 60-foot colossus of Lee became the focal point of protests this summer over racial inequity, triggered in Richmond and across the country by the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis police custody. Demonstrators festooned the stone base of the statue with graffiti condemning police brutality against African Americans, creating a powerful visual symbol of the Black Lives Matter movement. When Northam ordered the statue taken down in June, it was one of five Confederate figures along this city's residential thoroughfare. A local resident

filed suit to block the removal, and a circuit court judge imposed an injunction that prevented work from getting underway. Frustrated protesters took matters into their own hands, pulling down a nearby statue of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, along with a handful of other monuments around the city. Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney (D), invoking a state of emergency declared by the governor, called the remaining statues a public health risk and ordered them removed. Figures of Stonewall Jackson, J.E.B. Stuart and Matthew Fontaine Maury all came down from city property on Monument Avenue, leaving Lee — the only one owned by the state — as the last one standing. A handful of residents filed suit over Stoney's actions, but not until after the statues were removed. The Supreme Court of Virginia later threw out their case, saying the plaintiffs had no legal standing to sue. But the case against Northam persisted, even after the original judge who placed an injunction against taking the Lee statue



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

A statue of Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee casts a shadow in Richmond. A judge expects to rule on its status within 10 days.

down recused himself, acknowledging that his residence in the Monument Avenue historic district created the appearance of a conflict of interest. On Monday, with Attorney General Mark R. Herring looking on, lawyers for the state said Northam's action is in keeping with a dramatic shift in public attitudes that now deem Confederate memorials to be racist. To make their case, the

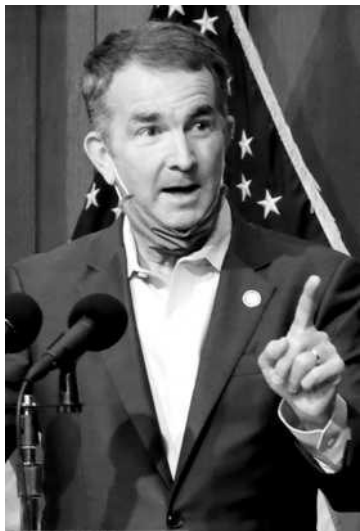
lawyers quizzed historian Edward Ayers about the origins and meaning of Confederate iconography. Statues such as the Lee memorial “are a part of the same array of laws and practices put in place to reclaim White power in public spaces after Reconstruction,” Ayers said. McSweeney, during cross-examination, debated Ayers about the real causes of the Civil War, arguing that individual

soldiers were fighting for home and country, not slavery. “They were fighting for a nation that was based on the perpetuation of slavery,” Ayers countered. McSweeney asked if Ayers saw “a difference between the motivation of individual combatants” and that of the Confederate states, inquiring, “Is it possible they were fighting for their homes?” “Of course they were,” Ayers said, but he termed that a “false distinction,” saying their homes were rooted in a system of enslavement. McSweeney noted that many former Confederates worked during Reconstruction for a group known as “readjusters,” who advocated restructuring Virginia finances to pay for Black education. Those people praised Lee and believed that Richmond's grand monument would help history vindicate him against “the accusation that he was a traitor committing treason,” McSweeney said. Then turned the question to Ayers: “Was he?” “Did he raise his hand against the United States, to which he had sworn an oath?” Ayers said. “Yes.” gregory.schneider@washpost.com

Northam orders independent review of VMI culture after allegations of racism

VMI FROM B1

long past time to consign these relics to the dustbin of history. “This culture is unacceptable for any Virginia institution in the 21st century, especially one funded by taxpayers. Virginians expect all universities — and particularly public universities established by the General Assembly — to be welcoming and inclusive, and to eschew outdated traditions that glamorize a history rooted in rebellion against the United States.” A VMI spokesman did not return messages seeking comment Monday evening. In a statement to The Post last week, retired Gen. J.H. Binford Peay III, the school's superintendent, said: “There is no place for racism or discrimination at VMI.” He promised that “any allegation of racism or discrimination will be investigated and appropriately punished, if substantiated.” Black cadets make up about 8 percent of VMI's 1,700 students. The school, which was founded in 1839 and became the last public college in Virginia to integrate in 1968, received nearly \$19 million in state funds this past fiscal year. The campus's main Parade Ground features two statues of enslavers — Confederate Gen. Stonewall Jackson, who taught at VMI, and the school's first



BOB BROWN/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH/AP

Gov. Ralph Northam (D) graduated from VMI in 1981.

superintendent, Francis H. Smith, who believed Black people should be resettled in Africa. Until a few years ago, freshmen were required to salute the Jackson statue, which sits in front of the student barracks. In The Post article, Black students and alumni described an atmosphere of hostility and cultural insensitivity. One Black woman, who graduated in the Class of 2019, filed a complaint against her White business professor who reminisced in class about her father's membership in the Ku Klux Klan

— and how they had “the best parties ever.” Other Black students said they were outraged in 2018 when a White sophomore told a Black freshman during Hell Week that he'd “lynch” his body and use his “dead corpse as a punching bag.” According to a Black student who helped investigate the incident, the White student was only suspended, not expelled. Several members of the Virginia House of Delegates expressed outrage after reading The Post story. “Virginia needs to take immediate action to stop the culture of racism and oppression at Virginia Military Institute,” tweeted Del. Mark H. Levine (D-Alexandria), who is White. “If VMI won't immediately end this now, it is up to us in the General Assembly to do it. Shape up, VMI. Or else.” Del. Don L. Scott Jr. (D-Portsmouth) said in an interview that the accounts from Black cadets and alumni “sickened” him. “It's 2020. No student should have to sit in a classroom and be lectured about the benefits of the Ku Klux Klan . . . especially at a school with a statue of Stonewall Jackson and that extols the virtues of the Confederacy,” said Scott, who is African American. “The leadership of the school is in an echo chamber. That's why

they're not appalled by this.” Del. Jennifer D. Carroll Foy (D-Prince William), a Black VMI graduate who is running for governor, said cadets accused of racism, sexism or bullying should be investigated and, if found guilty, expelled. She said the school also needs to create a diversity and inclusion office and institute diversity training for those who work there. “I personally went through more egregious experiences at VMI that I do not wish to recount,” said Foy, 39, who graduated in 2003. She said it was particularly disturbing to read what the current generation of VMI students has endured because it shows that “the culture has not improved over the years.” Peay, who has served as superintendent since 2003, has defended the campus's statues, praising Jackson in a July letter as a “military genius” and a “staunch Christian.” All of the school's top officials, including the VMI chief of staff, the faculty dean, and the inspector general/Title IX coordinator, are White men. Of VMI's 17 board members, just three are Black. The school's administrators and staff have also participated in racist incidents themselves. In 2017, Col. William Wanovich, the school's commandant of cadets, posed in a photo with students

who donned boxes to look like President Trump's border wall, scrawled with “Keep Out” and No Cholos,” a slur against Mexicans. The school has declined to say whether Wanovich, who kept his job, was ever punished. In June, Carmelo Echevarria Colon III, a former battalion operations and training sergeant who had been at the college since 2012, denounced the Black Lives Matter movement in a Facebook post that surfaced on Twitter: “I am seeing all these clowns taking a knee and bowing to [protest]. I'll take a knee alright. To maximize my shooting platform.” Colon left the school this summer. Race began publicly roiling VMI in June when Kaleb Tucker, who had just graduated after enduring four years of indignities as a Black cadet, shared an online petition demanding the removal of the Jackson statue. His effort sparked a counter-petition by Jeremy Sanders, a Class of 2015 graduate and Army captain, who wrote that the “core” of VMI was “under attack by those who seek to destroy these noble ideas that have made VMI cadets an ‘honor to their country and state.’” Northam has made racial equity in Virginia a cause since he was caught up in a blackface scandal over his 1984 Eastern Virginia Medical School yearbook. His page showed a

photo of two people, one dressed in blackface, the other in a Klan robe. Initially, Northam said he was in the picture but did not specify which costume he wore. The next day, though, Northam said he wasn't in the picture at all. But Northam also acknowledged that he had applied shoe polish on his cheeks in 1984 while dressed up as Michael Jackson for a dance contest. Last year, it was revealed that one of his nicknames as a VMI undergraduate and listed under his yearbook photo was “Coonman,” which some Black state legislators deemed a racial slur. (“Coon” is a dictionary-defined offensive term targeting Black people.) Northam has said he is not sure how it became his nickname. As governor, Northam is charged with appointing members of the college's Board of Visitors. His selections, though, must be confirmed by the Virginia General Assembly. In 2019, he reappointed one Black board member, Gene Scott, who graduated in VMI's Class of 1980, and appointed a new Black board member, Michael L. Hamlar. This year, he appointed the Board's third Black member, Lester Johnson, a member of VMI's Class of 1995. ian.shapira@washpost.com

Judge sets release conditions for Park Police officers in Ghaisar slaying case

GHAISAR FROM B1

court. Gardiner also set several conditions for the officers' release. He ordered that they not leave Virginia, that they not exercise police powers and that they not possess firearms. The video arraignments were brief, and the officers did not speak other than to acknowledge that they could hear the judge. Amaya, 41, and Vinyard, 39, are charged in the Nov. 17, 2017, fatal shooting of Ghaisar, 25, at the end of a pursuit that began on the George Washington Memorial Parkway and ended at an intersection in the Fort Hunt neighborhood of Fairfax. They were not required to enter a plea Monday. When the FBI investigated the shooting from 2017 until

November 2019, both officers provided statements saying that they fired at Ghaisar because they believed he was driving his Jeep Grand Cherokee at Amaya and that his erratic behavior — he had driven away from the officers twice during previous stops — endangered the community. Much of the episode was captured on video recorded by an in-car camera from a Fairfax County police lieutenant who followed the marked Park Police SUV along the parkway and then onto Alexandria Avenue in Fort Hunt. The video appears to show Amaya and Vinyard firing into Ghaisar's Jeep as Ghaisar slowly pulls away from them. After the FBI investigated for two years, the Justice Department decided not to file federal criminal civil rights

charges against Amaya and Vinyard. Fairfax Commonwealth's Attorney Steve T. Descano picked up the case in January and asked the Fairfax court to impanel a special grand jury in August, and the grand jury met three times before issuing indictments against both officers last week. Warrants were issued for the two officers, Descano said. Vinyard showed up at the Fairfax jail at 3:33 a.m., and Amaya appeared at 3:47 a.m., Fairfax sheriff's spokeswoman Andrea Ceisler said. They were kept in custody until the video arraignment. A status hearing was set for Nov. 23, though Descano said he expects that the officers will file a motion to move the case to federal court because they are federal officers. In federal court, the officers

are expected to invoke the U.S. Constitution's supremacy clause to seek to dismiss the case. Under the clause, federal law overrules state law, and some federal officers have been successful in arguing that they may not be prosecuted in state court if they reasonably believed their actions were “necessary and proper.” Descano has said he is prepared to fight any such effort and has sought the assistance of the office of Virginia Attorney General Mark R. Herring (D). After the arraignments, a Park Police spokeswoman said Monday afternoon that Amaya and Vinyard's law enforcement authority had been suspended and their service weapons taken, and that both had been placed on administrative leave. She would not say when the actions were taken or whether the officers



SIMA MARVASTIAN

Bijan Ghaisar, 25, was killed after a 2017 pursuit that ended in a Fairfax neighborhood.

were still being paid. The Park Police previously said the officers had been on paid administrative duty since April 2018. The agency has said it would not begin its internal administrative investigation until the criminal case is resolved. Attorney Daniel Crowley, who represented both officers in a civil suit filed by Ghaisar's parents, entered his appearance for both officers in the Fairfax criminal case. He declined to say whether he would continue to represent them after Monday. Having one lawyer represent two criminal co-defendants is highly unusual. Crowley told the judge that Vinyard had his badge taken away, but he did not otherwise clarify Vinyard's or Amaya's job status and declined to comment after the hearing. tom.jackman@washpost.com

MARYLAND

Officers kill suspect in shootout

BY EMILY DAVIES

A man suspected in an attempted homicide was killed by police after a high-speed chase and shootout with officers Monday afternoon in Emmitsburg, Md., according to the Frederick County Sheriff's Office. Another man was apprehended and taken into custody following the incident. His condition is unknown but is not believed to be serious, Frederick County sheriff's spokesman Todd Wivell told reporters on the scene. The two men involved were suspects in an attempted homicide in Pennsylvania, Wivell said. Their identities had not been released by Monday evening. The chase began in Pennsylv-

nia before crossing into Frederick County around 2:30 p.m. The pursuit unfolded down Route 15 before making its way back north on the highway, when the suspects fired shots at a police vehicle, Wivell said. The suspects' vehicle crashed just off Route 15 near Route 140. At that point, the men emerged from the vehicle and fired shots at police, Wivell said. It is unclear whether law enforcement officers fired shots at that time, according to the sheriff's office. Police took one suspect into custody at the crash site. The other fled to a nearby Exxon-Mobil station and fired at officers, the sheriff's office said. Officers returned fire and struck the suspect, Wivell said. The

man was transported to a hospital, where he later died. Pennsylvania state troopers, Maryland state troopers, Cumberland Township officers and Frederick County sheriff's officers were all involved in the incident, the sheriff's office said. It was unclear as of Monday evening which law enforcement agency's officers fired the fatal shot. The sheriff's office said one employee at the gas station was “slightly injured” and refused treatment. It said there is no current threat to the public. A Frederick County Sheriff's Office investigation into the incident is ongoing. emily.davies@washpost.com

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VIRGINIA

3 are vying for 2 seats on Arlington School Board

BY HANNAH NATANSON

Two seats are open this year on the Arlington School Board, a five-member body that helps oversee the Arlington Public Schools system of about 26,000 students in Northern Virginia.

There are three candidates competing for these two slots this fall, at a moment when the school system in Arlington, like districts nationwide, is facing unprecedented challenges. Not only has the coronavirus pandemic thrown the U.S. education system into chaos, forcing teachers, including those in Arlington, to shift their classes online, but the county is also facing a significant drop in enrollment — down a full 4 percent from last year — and a budget deficit running to \$20 million or more.

On top of thorny questions over when and how to return students and teachers safely to classrooms, Arlington is also facing calls to remove police officers from school buildings, as well as allegations that the system has failed to adequately recognize and address the myriad legacies of systemic racism that are shaping students’ experiences in classrooms and hallways.

In interviews, each of the three candidates — who, if elected, would serve four years — spoke briefly about how they view and would tackle these issues. These profiles are based on candidates’ answers and have been edited for space and clarity.

Cristina Diaz-Torres

Diaz-Torres, 29, is a manager of product design and delivery at Education First Consulting. She is a former teacher who said she would bring needed first-person experience to board discussions and decisions. She is also Latina and hopes that winning a seat would ensure that, in a system where about 30 percent of students are Hispanic, “there is someone advocating for the students that look like me and shares their cultural and demographic backgrounds.”

What are the biggest chal-

lenges facing Arlington Public Schools?

They are equity writ large — we have disparities in income, across demographics, problems for students with disabilities, from low-income backgrounds, students who are bilingual — but also obviously things caused by the pandemic. We need to make sure kids are getting a quality education, no matter the delivery plan, and make sure that we are addressing students’ social and emotional needs. It’s a very trying time.

Do you support Superintendent Francisco Durán’s reopening plans?

Yes, I am in support of it. I actually wrote a piece in Blue Virginia back in May that outlined a similar plan. It was great to see the superintendent’s plan include outreach for the community, a concrete way to address social and emotional needs and a plan to get devices to all kids.

What would you need to see before schools fully reopen?

If we’re talking about all kids in all classrooms, then we need to have both family and staff confidence. Right now, even among our families, we’re still seeing about 30 percent who want to stay virtual, as well as an even greater percentage of our employees, so it comes down to people feeling comfortable and us having the equipment to respond to any sort of outbreaks that come up.

What are your views on the boundary redrawing process currently underway in Arlington?

We’re in a tough time because of the pandemic. We have a new elementary school opening in 2021, and the boundary process that has been proposed for this fall — well, it can colloquially be termed a “steady state adjustment,” I think, because it’s resetting the attendance zone for that particular school and then leaving everything else pretty much the same for the purpose of just getting through the rest of the pandemic, which I think is appropriate. Our families are already dealing with so much stress and tension that we do not need to be doing a massive



LISA DAMICO PORTRAITS

Cristina Diaz Torres

upheaval of elementary school boundaries in the middle of that.

Should Arlington Public Schools keep police officers — known as “School Resource Officers,” or SROs — patrolling hallways inside schools?

I do not support SROs in schools, and I support the ongoing conversation about removing them and figuring out an appropriate redesign. I don’t think they have met the criteria of what we want a discipline force to be, and there are many other options available across the education field — things like deans, hall monitors with more clear powers — people who are embedded in the school community, trained by the school system, who have a better understanding of what the culture of the school community is supposed to be and who are not wearing a badge and causing undue stress for our students of color.

David Priddy

Priddy, 46, is a stay-at-home dad who describes himself as a “community activist.” He used to work for an elevator company and says his business experience would give him an advantage during financial planning discussions. Priddy has two children enrolled in the Arlington school system: an eighth-grader and a fifth-grader. He is running for a board seat, he said, because “I do have a powerful voice, and I do know how to bring people together” to accomplish needed improvements at a pivotal moment in school history.

What are the biggest challenges facing Arlington Public Schools?

First and foremost, a safe return to school from [covid-19]. Second is bringing equity throughout Arlington Public Schools. And third would be, how



N. PRIDDY

David Priddy

do we operate, knowing that we’ll be at a deficit?

Do you support Superintendent Francisco Durán’s reopening plans?

Yes, I support the superintendent’s plans for reopening. I appreciate his attentiveness to the safety of students and staff. He’s been very thoughtful and very understanding of people’s situations.

What would you need to see before schools fully reopen?

We need a low percentage rate. With the reopening plan, we need to have confidence that the safety and health procedures in place are working. We need a contact tracing system, so we’re sure we can figure out where the outbreaks are. For parents, we need a clear communication path. And, for the safety of students, teachers and staff, we need significant PPE supplies, ventilation in the facilities themselves, isolation rooms for coronavirus patients — and those must be up to code. Everything must meet Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines.

What are your views on the boundary redrawing process currently underway in Arlington?

We do need to fill the new school that is opening next year, and we’re dealing with overcrowding. There were originally supposed to be more schools involved in this boundary change, but as a result of the pandemic it was scaled back so it only affects 13 percent of students now, and I think that was the right move. I’m glad there are community engagement processes on the calendar right now, and there will — and should — be more.

Should Arlington Public Schools keep police officers — known as “School Resource Officers,” or SROs — patrolling hallways inside schools?



ERIN NITSCHÉ

Symone Walker

We know there are many incidents in school that require a counselor or mental health professional instead of a police officer. We need to review our practice of having SROs in schools and make sure they are the best use of our system. Do I support the removal of SROs? Yes, but it’s not that easy just to get rid of them. It’s a long-standing program — and the county pays for police in schools, so if we remove them, Arlington Public Schools will lose that money. We’re already going to be in a budget deficit this year so we need to figure that piece out. And second, Arlington Public Schools needs to find personnel to replace the non-policing functions that SROs perform. So we need to have a plan before we decide to remove them.

Symone Walker

Walker, 49, is an attorney with the federal government. She has two children: an eighth-grader enrolled in Arlington Public Schools and a ninth-grader who attends private school. She said she is running “for change, not for a position,” because she has long been concerned by inequity in the Arlington school system. After stints serving on parent-teacher associations, the superintendent’s Committee for Equity and Excellence and the Arlington Special Education Advisory Committee, she has grown frustrated with the treatment of special-education students, as well as of Black and Brown children.

What are the biggest challenges facing Arlington Public Schools?

The biggest challenge right now that I’m seeing is to create a sense of harmony and unity among our parents who want their kids back in schools and our teachers who feel it’s not yet safe for them to return. It’s a divisive issue, which

saddens me.

Do you support Superintendent Francisco Durán’s reopening plans?

I think it’s a fair compromise that kind of meets parents and teachers in the middle. There are parents that are reaching out to me advocating that hybrid is not enough — they want kids back in school five days a week. There are teachers who don’t feel they should be returning to the classroom at all. ... To me, this is a pretty fair middle ground.

What would you need to see before schools fully reopen?

I would like rapid testing available at least for teachers, but ideally for both teachers and students. I would like to see a downward trend of cases in the community. I would like to see Arlington County do a better job of enforcement — of requiring masking and social distancing, especially in bars and restaurants. I would like to see the county more invested in enforcing safety measures so our kids can go back to school.

What are your views on the boundary redrawing process currently underway in Arlington?

The School Board right now has a very accelerated timeline for redrawing boundaries for certain schools in North Arlington, and they want to have a decision made by Dec. 3. I think that it’s premature to plow through with that now, given the state of flux that we’re experiencing with our students — we have probably close to 1,200 students that left the district since June alone, probably for private schools or home schooling. We just don’t have a full grasp on the impact of how many students are gone, and the majority of students leaving the district are from the schools for which the boundaries are being drawn right now.

Should Arlington Public Schools keep police officers — known as “School Resource Officers,” or SROs — patrolling hallways inside schools?

My view is that we should not have SROs residing in our schools. Students with disabilities [and] Black and Brown students often have a more negative experience with SROs, resulting in higher referrals to law enforcement, more criminal charges, more interactions that are negative. I think resources are better spent on having more mental health providers in our schools.

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OBITUARIES

JOHNNY BUSH, 85

Texan’s ‘Whiskey River’ became a Willie Nelson staple

BY HARRISON SMITH

Johnny Bush, a Texas singer whose rowdy honky-tonk hit “Whiskey River” became a signature song for his friend Willie Nelson but whose own career was interrupted by a neurological condition that robbed him of his voice for years, died Oct. 16 at a hospital in San Antonio. He was 85.

The cause was complications from pneumonia, said Ronnie McHan, his drummer and touring manager. He added that Mr. Bush had recently tested negative for the coronavirus.

Mr. Bush was a drummer, guitarist, fiddler and singer-songwriter with a distinctive, vibrato-heavy tenor that earned him the nickname “the Caruso of country,” a nod to Italian opera star Enrico Caruso. In the late 1960s and ‘70s he recorded a string of country hits, including versions of his mentor Ray Price’s “I’ll Be There,” Marty Robbins’s “You Gave Me a Mountain” and Willie Nelson’s “Undo the Right” and “What a Way to Live.”

But soon after signing with RCA Records, his new label tasked him with composing a song of his own. He responded by writing “Whiskey River” with Paul Stroud, whom Mr. Bush later described as “an old rodeo cowboy friend.” Mr. Bush said he began writing it while traveling from Nashville to Texas by bus, jotting down lyrics on a paper sack that someone had used to bring him a cheeseburger.

*Whiskey River, take my mind
Don’t let her memory torture me*

*Whiskey River, don’t run dry
You’re all I got, take care of me*
Released as a single in 1972, the song reached No. 14 on the country charts while receiving near-constant airplay on Texas country stations. Thick with fiddles, driven by a propulsive bass line, it was an infectious anthem about alcohol-induced forgetfulness and the solace offered by an “amber current,” when the memory of an old love has left you feeling cold.

The song was shaped in part by

Nelson, whom Mr. Bush called for advice. “Whiskey River” only had one verse and one bridge, he said, and didn’t it need something more? “Well, you’ve already said what you need to say,” Nelson told him, according to a Texas Monthly report. “In a country song, you tell your life story in two and a half minutes.”

When Nelson recorded a rockified version of the song for “Shotgun Willie,” his influential 1973 outlaw-country album, “Whiskey River” became an even bigger hit; Nelson opened his concerts with it for decades.

Mr. Bush and Nelson had been friends since the 1950s, when both men were unknown musicians performing in San Antonio beer joints. For a time, it seemed that Mr. Bush had the more promising career: When they partnered together in a group called the Mission City Playboys, it was Mr. Bush who convinced Nelson to join as a guitarist, not a singer, according to Nelson’s 2015 autobiography, “It’s a Long Story.”

“He had a tremendous voice filled with feeling,” Nelson wrote. He recalled having to fight back tears when he heard Mr. Bush sing a country rendition of the pop standard “Stardust,” which “made me see that a great singer can sing any song in any genre. Johnny Bush was a great singer.”

Their group, he added, “was a band that went nowhere fast, but we had fun going there.”

Mr. Bush often cited Nelson as his chief inspiration as a songwriter, once declaring that he compared every song he ever wrote to Nelson’s “Funny How Time Slips Away.” Through Nelson, he also met Ray Price, his other musical lodestar, playing the drums in the singer’s Cherokee Cowboys group for several years in the 1960s.

Mr. Bush left when Price began moving in a more pop-oriented direction but took with him “the fiddle-’n’-steel sound and the two-step shuffle beat that remain, to this day, at the heart and soul of true Texas honky-tonk,” music critic Rick Mitchell wrote in the introduction to “Whiskey River (Take My Mind),” Mr. Bush’s 2007



MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

Johnny Bush’s distinctive, vibrato-heavy tenor earned him the nickname “the Caruso of country,” but his career was interrupted by a rare neurological condition that robbed him of his voice for years.

memoir.

By 1972, Mr. Bush seemed on the verge of bringing his honky-tonk sound to a larger audience. “Whiskey River” was rising through the charts when his voice suddenly started to slip. “The high notes — which in the past had come as easily and naturally to me as breathing — became raspy and strangled,” he wrote in his memoir. “It was as if my throat was being choked off.”

Doctors told him there seemed to be nothing wrong with his vocal cords. But his second marriage was struggling, and one physician prescribed anti-anxiety medicine and suggested he take time off. Mr. Bush lost his contract with RCA and soon lost his

voice, finding that he was largely unable to talk. He was diagnosed with spasmodic dysphonia, a rare neurological disorder, and came to believe that God was punishing him for what he described as his “sinful behavior,” including years of womanizing and heavy drinking.

Mr. Bush ultimately launched a comeback, releasing albums including “Talk to My Heart” (1998), “Honky Tonic” (2004) and “The Absolute Johnny Bush” (2017). He was aided by vocal exercises he learned under Gary Catona, a noted voice coach, and by Botox treatment that he started in the 1990s, receiving a shot near the vocal cords every eight to 10 weeks. As a result, he estimat-

ed that his voice was no less than 75 percent of what it was in his prime.

In a phone interview, Tracy Pitcox, president of the country label Heart of Texas Records, said Mr. Bush was a key influence on many Texas country and “red dirt” artists, including Pat Green and Robert Earl Keen. “These younger artists were considering him what I’d call an elder statesman of this music,” he added.

Mr. Bush said he was simply trying to protect Texas’s “musical birthright” by honing a traditional sound, in contrast to “the powers that be in Nashville, who have either boldly or subtly set out to kill the original roots of country music.” Because of artists

such as Nelson, Merle Haggard and George Jones, “I feel confident that our music will survive and stay real,” he wrote in his memoir. “If I have been able to play a role in this process, then I am grateful.”

Mr. Bush was born John Bush Shinn III in Houston on Feb. 17, 1935. He grew up in a home without electricity or plumbing, wearing clothes that his mother made by hand. His father worked in the printing business and played guitar, and his parents divorced when he was in the seventh grade.

After dropping out of high school, he worked in the oil fields and then threw himself into country music, going by Johnny Bush after a television announcer mixed his name up when he was 17, according to a biography on his website.

Around that same time, he married for the first time, to a woman he identified in his memoir only as Jean. Mr. Bush had several other marriages and in 1988 married Lynda Kilian. She survives him, as does a daughter from his first marriage, Gaye Lynn Litton; a stepdaughter, Christine Hecker; a brother; four grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren. A stepson, Trey Kilian, died in 2007.

Mr. Bush was inducted into the Texas County Music Hall of Fame in 2003. He had continued performing in recent years, donning a Stetson for each show and regularly ending the night with two of his most popular drinking anthems, “Green Snakes on the Ceiling” and “Whiskey River.” “He acted as though he was a new artist just getting started,” said Pitcox, whose label released some of Mr. Bush’s last records. Pitcox added that he had tried to convince Mr. Bush not to perform his last show — in New Braunfels, Tex., last month — because Mr. Bush was increasingly ill, receiving supplemental oxygen.

But Mr. Bush was adamant that the show go on.

“It’s sold out,” he said. “I’ve got to do it. I don’t want to let the fans down.”

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OBITUARIES



Mohammad Reza Shajarian was banned from performing in Iran after speaking out against the government he had long supported, siding with protesters who challenged Iran's president in 2009.

MOHAMMAD REZA SHAJARIAN, 80

Classical singer was a revered master of traditional Persian music

BY PHIL DAVISON

To Iranians at home and abroad, the death of the country's most revered classical music singer, Mohammad Reza Shajarian, reverberated like the death of a rock or pop star in the West. After learning that he died Oct. 8 at age 80 at a hospital in Tehran, tens of thousands took to the streets of Iran's capital to weep, mourn, and sing his songs of love and peace.

Angered that his music had been banned by the country's Islamic regime, they also chanted anti-government slogans, including "death to the dictator," a reference to Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei and President Hassan Rouhani. Security forces arrived on motorcycles, swinging batons at crowds until they dispersed.

"The grateful Iranian nation will always keep the name, memory and work of this popular artist alive in its memory," Rouhani said on Twitter.

Mr. Shajarian was known as an ostad, or master, of traditional Persian music backed by string and percussion instruments, many of which he designed himself. He started singing during the reign of the last U.S.-backed shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, before supporting the 1979 Islamic revolution that installed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

While Khomeini banned "imperialist" Western music and instruments, Mr. Shajarian's traditional songs — and soaring, quavering tenor — reached a wide audience. He became known as "the voice of Iran," and in 2009, the Los Angeles Times called him "Iran's greatest living master of traditional Persian music."

Mr. Shajarian typically used subtle metaphors and poetic allegories in his verses, and he rarely ventured into politics. But in 2009, he surprised many of his fans by speaking out against the government he had long supported, siding with demonstrators who challenged election results that led to ultraconservative President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's second term.

As security forces wielded batons and tear gas against protesters, Mr. Shajarian turned a work of Persian poetry into an anthem of resistance, singing "Language of Fire and Iron" by Fereydoon Moshiri.

"Lay down your gun," he pleaded, "as I hate this very abnormal shedding of blood. The gun in your hand speaks the language of fire and iron. . . . Come, sit down, talk, hear. Perhaps the light of



Mohammad Reza Shajarian, performing with Mojgan Shajarian, left, and Majid Derakhshani in 2011, started singing during the reign of the last shah; he supported the 1979 Islamic revolution.

humanity will get through to your heart, too."

When Ahmadinejad labeled the protesters "dust and trash," Mr. Shajarian responded by telling the BBC: "I am the voice of dust and trash, and [my voice] will always belong to dust and trash." The regime banned him from performing in Iran, and Mr. Shajarian, in turn, insisted that state media stop broadcasting his music.

His most famous song was "Morghe Sahar" ("Bird of Dawn"), an allegorical ballad about a bird that sings to end the darkness of the night and herald a day of liberation. Based on an old Persian poem, the song became his trademark encore at concerts abroad, inevitably bringing audiences to tears.

Mr. Shajarian was also known for singing "Rabbana," a prayer song that compiled verses from the Koran. State broadcasters played the song during the holy month of Ramadan for some 30 years, until he fell afoul of the regime. "Ramadan without Rabbana is like Christmas without Christmas carol," one Iranian told the Guardian in a 2013 message on Facebook. "I don't observe fasting but yet every Ramadan I listened out for it."

The oldest of five children, Mr. Shajarian was born Sept. 23, 1940, in the northeastern city of Mashhad. His father was a qari, a respected reciter of the Koran, and the younger Shajarian started singing verses of the Islamic holy book when he was 5. By age 12, he was studying the radif, the traditional repertoire of Iranian music.

Mr. Shajarian received two awards from UNESCO for his music, and he was named a chevalier of France's Legion of Honor. After the Iranian city of Bam

was ravaged by an earthquake in 2003, killing more than 26,000, he organized a benefit concert for survivors and families of the victims.

His marriage to Farkhondeh Golafshan, with whom he had four children, ended in divorce. He later married Katayoun Khan-sari, with whom he had a son. Complete information on survivors was not immediately available.

Mr. Shajarian's son Homayoun, a fellow classical singer who often joined him onstage, announced the death on Instagram but did not give a cause. Mr. Shajarian had battled kidney cancer for almost 20 years, and Iranian state television cited the disease in its news bulletins, while broadcasting images of the singer for the first time in 11 years.

"My music has always been entirely connected to what happens in Iran," he told German writer and Persia expert Marian Brehmer in 2011. "The poems I choose to perform reflect our social history. My songs speak of people's lives. I get my inspiration from the people. I need to be among them. Or else I wouldn't be able to sing."

"I think of people's longings," he added. "Humanity should rule the world, not religion, nationalism or ideology. Humanity is the aim of all arts."

newsobits@washpost.com

•The Oct. 19 obituary for former White House social secretary Bess Abell misspelled the capital of Kentucky. It is Frankfort, not Frankfurt.

IN MEMORIAM

BOWMAN

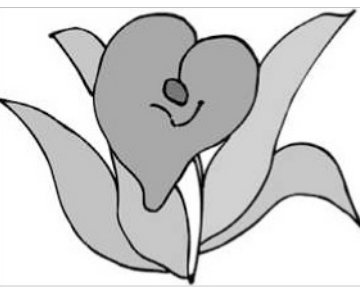


DWIGHT RANDOLPH BOWMAN
10/20/1943 ~ 1/16/2013
I am alone, but I am not lonely.
You are still in my heart and my dreams.
Happy Birthday Dwight!
Your Wife for Life, Love, Gwen

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To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post



DEATH NOTICE

McMULLIN



EDITH ANN TITTERTON SACK
McMULLIN (1933-2020)

Edith Ann Titterton Sack McMullin (1933-2020) — published author, artist, educator, wife, mother, grandmother, sister, god-mother, aunt, and mentor — passed away peacefully at her home in Silver Spring, MD on October 13, 2020.

Edith was born to George F. Titterton and Ada Ryan Titterton in New York City in 1933 before the family relocated to Farmingdale, NY. The third of seven children in a "Grumman" family, she married her first husband, Martin Sack, in 1959 and had four children. While home raising her children, she created a community newsletter for the Fox Hills Neighborhood Association, discovered painting, and started playing bridge with local rubber bridge organizations. Edith rose to become an icon of the contract bridge world driven by her passion for the game and her gifts as a teacher, player, club owner, director, author and more. During that time, Edith met Dr. Paul R. McMullin. They married in 1985 and enjoyed nearly 35 years of marriage.

She transformed how folks were introduced to the game of bridge with lively events that combined humor, social connection, and simplifying the technical aspects of the complex game. Recognized by the ACBL for attracting a record number of newcomers locally and regionally, Edith went on to create and direct huge national Novice Programs for the North American Bridge Championships 1984-1991, and was rehired to be ACBL's Easybridge!™ Coordinator. Edith's Easybridge!™ Program evolved from her series of books including the popular ACBL publication of "Adventures In Duplicate Bridge" — "The Convention Card", "Easybridge!™ The Comic Book" — "Easybridge!™ 2 (Ten Lessons You Should Know)" — and Easybridge!™ 3 (The Duplicate Condition)". She was also co-publisher with Mike Lawrence of the monthly bridge magazine, "The Champion's Newsletter (0-300 MP)". Edith's Easybridge!™ books have sold more than 250,000 copies, are still popular and are still being used to introduce new players to the game today, some 20 years after her retirement from bridge.

As Edith was developing Easybridge!™, she rekindled her love of painting. After she retired in the early 2000's, her husband Paul helped to create a beautiful art studio for her where she spent many joyful hours creating truly inspired works. Edith always sought self-improvement and ways to improve the lives of others. She was an avid reader and music lover who played both piano and guitar, did daily crossword puzzles, solved many a murder mystery, and valued education and the arts.

Edith McMullin's talents and "charm" made her the toast of all who knew her. She will be sorely missed by her husband Paul, and many friends and family, including her children Noah (Karen) Sack, Charity (Paul Randall) Sack, Mary (Ed Wasmund) Sack, Alex Sack, her grandchildren Celeste Stout, Timothy "TJ" Stout, Jacob Sack, Nathan Sack, Leo Sack and Milo Sack.

She was preceded in death by her parents, her older brother George Titterton, her older sister Eileen Titterton Carbery and her first husband, Martin Sack.

In lieu of flowers, please make contributions to Children International, In Memory of Edith McMullin, PO Box 219055, Kansas City, MO 64121; 1-800-888-3089; <http://www.children.org/children.org>

Please view service details and sign the family's online guestbook at:
www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com

ANNOUNCEMENT

ANNOUNCEMENT

REMEMBER
YOUR LOVED ONES

December 13, 2020

The Washington Post Magazine will publish an Annual Commemorative Section.

Plan to be a part of this annual tradition!

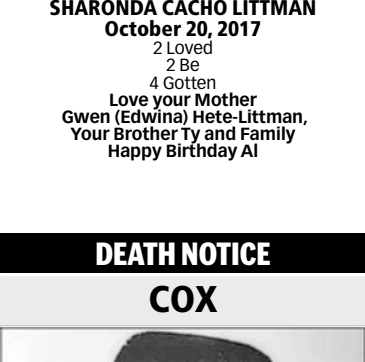
RATES
\$11.10 per Line
\$150 B&W Photo
\$200 Color Photo

DEADLINE
5 p.m.
Friday, November 13, 2020

For more information, please call:
202-334-4122 or 1-800-627-1150, ext. 4-4122
E-mail:
deathnotices@washpost.com

IN MEMORIAM

LITTMAN



SHARONDA CACHO LITTMAN
October 20, 2017
2 Loved
2 Be
4 Gotten
Love your Mother
Gwen (Edwina) Hete-Littman,
Your Brother Ty and Family
Happy Birthday Al

DEATH NOTICE

COX



JOHN CORNELIUS COX
John Cornelius Cox, 83, of Fairfax Station, VA, passed away at home surrounded by his family, on October 17, 2020 from complications of Alzheimer's disease.

John was born in Alexandria, VA on February 11, 1937. He graduated from George Washington High School and continued to receive a bachelor's degree from American University.

John was married to Susan Jean O'Driscoll on April 25, 1959, the love of his life. They were married for 61 years.

John joined the Alexandria Police department where he distinguished himself as a marksman, winning many local, regional, and national matches, to include receiving the distinction of the 1st ever Police Distinguished Expert from the NRA. He then became a Special Agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation where he held various positions during his 25 year career, from Firearms Instructor at the FBI Academy to Supervisory Special Agent in the Counter Terrorism Unit @ FBI Headquarters. John is survived by his wife Susan; his children, John Daniel Cox (Debra), Michael Frank Cox (Lisa), and Cornelia Cox Musser (Richard); grandchildren, James, Jason, Bryan, Tyler, John, Perry, Crystal and Mark; step grandchildren, Joshua, Brian, Amy, Jaclyn, Meghan, Caroline, and Emma. Last, but not least, 24 great grandchildren. He is preceded in death by his parents John Cornelius Cox, Elsie Fearson Cox, and his loving sister Marion Genevieve Gibson.

The funeral service will be held on Wednesday, October 21, 2020 at 1 p.m. at Fairfax Memorial Gardens Cemetery 9902 Braddock Rd, Fairfax, VA. A graveside service will be held to allow for proper Covid safety for all attendees. The processional will begin at the side of the building.

In lieu of flowers please donate to the Alzheimer Association and/or the Law Enforcement agency of your choosing.

DEATH NOTICE

HURLEY



Elizabeth C. Hurley "Liz", 97, of Annapolis, MD passed away on Saturday, October 17, 2020. Liz was born on August 21, 1923 in Washington, DC to the late Paul and Helen Cramer and was a graduate of Wilson High School. She spent 18 years working for IBM in the Federal Systems Division located in Gaithersburg, MD as an Executive Secretary. She was a member of Calvary United Methodist Church in Annapolis who loved golf, and spending time with her grand and great-grandchildren. In addition to her parents she was preceded in death by her husband of 62 years, Ronald Hurley and a son, Ronnie. She is survived by her sons, Michael of Bethany Beach, DE and John of Lahaina, HI; grandchildren, Jennifer and Patrick; great-grandchild, Joshua. Friends and family are invited to celebrate Liz's life on Wednesday, October 21 from 1 to 3 and 6 to 8 pm at the Kalas Funeral Home & Crematory, 2973 Solomons Island Rd., Edgewater, MD where her funeral service will be held on Thursday at 1 p.m. Interment private. On line condolence may be made at:
KalasFuneralHomes.com

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

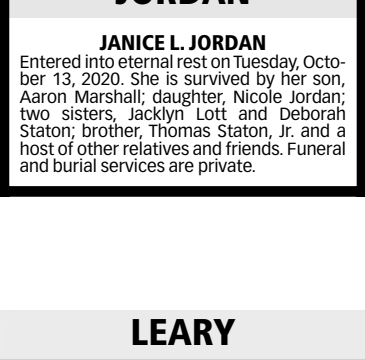
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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

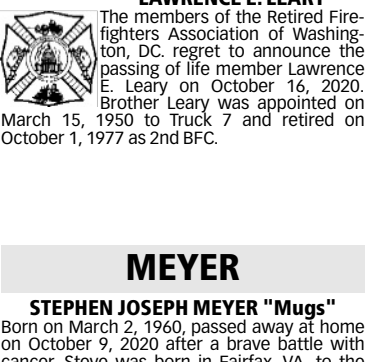
JORDAN



JANICE L. JORDAN
Entered into eternal rest on Tuesday, October 13, 2020. She is survived by her son, Aaron Marshall; daughter, Nicole Jordan; two sisters, Jacklyn Lott and Deborah Staton; brother, Thomas Staton, Jr. and a host of other relatives and friends. Funeral and burial services are private.

DEATH NOTICE

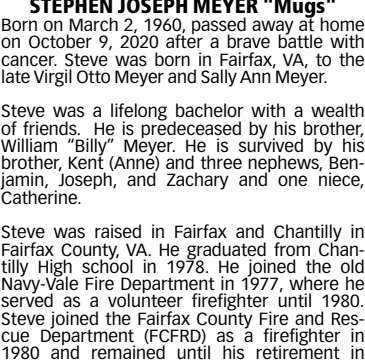
LEARY



LAWRENCE E. LEARY
The members of the Retired Firefighters Association of Washington, DC, regret to announce the passing of life member Lawrence Leary on October 16, 2020. Brother Leary was appointed on March 15, 1950 to Truck 7 and retired on October 1, 1977 as 2nd BFC.

DEATH NOTICE

MEYER



STEPHEN JOSEPH MEYER "Mugs"
Born on March 2, 1960, passed away at home on October 9, 2020 after a brave battle with cancer. Steve was born in Fairfax, VA, to the late Virgil Otto Meyer and Sally Ann Meyer.

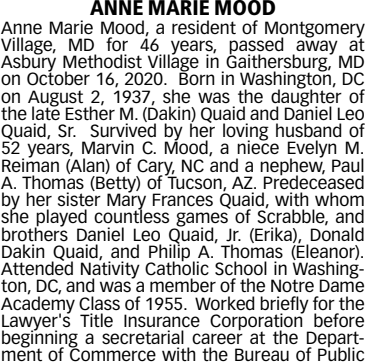
Steve was a lifelong bachelor with a wealth of friends. He is predeceased by his brother, William "Billy" Meyer. He is survived by his brother, Kent (Anne) and three nephews, Benjamin, Joseph, and Zachary and one niece, Catherine.

Steve was raised in Fairfax and Chantilly in Fairfax County, VA. He graduated from Chantilly High School in 1978. He joined the old Navy-Vale Fire Dept. in 1977, where he served as a volunteer firefighter until 1980. Steve joined the Fairfax County Fire and Rescue Department (FCFRD) as a firefighter in 1980 and remained until his retirement in 2011. He was known and beloved throughout FCFRD as "Mugs". He worked at many FCFRD fire stations in Fairfax County but the majority of his career was spent at Burke Station 14.

A memorial Mass will be held at St. Timothy Catholic Church in Chantilly, VA, on October 22, 2020 at 9:30 a.m. with interment immediately following at Fairfax Memorial Park, Fairfax, VA. In memory of Steve's lifelong passion as a gardener and in lieu of flowers, memorial contributions can be made to the National Forest Foundation at <https://www.nationalforest.org>

DEATH NOTICE

MOOD



ANNE MARIE MOOD
Anne Marie Mood, a resident of Montgomery Village, MD for 46 years, passed away at Asbury Methodist Village, Gaithersburg, MD on October 16, 2020. Born in Washington, DC on August 2, 1937, she was the daughter of the late Esther M. (Dakin) Quaid and Daniel Leo Quaid, Sr. Survived by her loving husband of 52 years, Marvin C. Mood, a niece Evelyn M. Reiman (Alan) of Cary, NC and a nephew, Paul A. Thomas (Betty) of Tucson, AZ. Predeceased by her sister Mary Frances Quaid, with whom she played countless games of Scrabble, and brothers Daniel Leo Quaid, Jr. (Erika), Donald Dakin Quaid, and Philip A. Thomas (Eleanor). Attended Nativity Catholic School in Washington, DC, and was a member of the Notre Dame Academy Class of 1955. Worked briefly for the Lawyer's Title Insurance Corporation before beginning a secretarial career at the Department of Commerce with the Bureau of Public Roads. Retired in 1981 after having served as the executive secretary for the Department of Commerce Budget Director, the Assistant Secretary for Economic Development, and the Assistant Secretary for Administration. Anne Marie was a loving mother, sister, daughter, and aunt. She will be fondly remembered by her many friends especially Sylvia Mushinsky Block and Gloria Heyman. Anne Marie was a witness for her Christian faith each day of her life through her kindness to all.

Family and friends are invited to a visitation on Wednesday October 21, at Thibadeau Mortuary Service, 124 East Diamond Avenue, Gaithersburg, MD from 1 to 3 p.m. A graveside service will be held on October 23, at Siloam Cemetery, Vineland, NJ with interment immediately following. Memorial contributions may be made to Montgomery Hospice at montgomeryhospice.org or the Central Baptist Church of Millville/Vineland, 9 North Second Street, Millville, NJ 08332.

DEATH NOTICE
STAPLES

GUDBJORG "BECKY" STAPLES (90) died on October 16, 2020, at her home in North Bethesda, Maryland. She rejoiced in raising her family and had a special talent for languages. She was the manager of the telephone operators at Keflavik Airport when she met her husband in 1955. Becky worked as a bookkeeping clerk in banking and at the Hebrew Home in Rockville, Maryland. She enjoyed reading mysteries, crossword puzzles, British comedies, and visits to her native country, Iceland. Gudbjorg is survived by her husband John, her sons, Wendell, James, Sigurd and Sigurd's daughter Selma, and Jeffrey (Mary) and son Andrew. From a family of seven children, she is survived by two sisters, Hanna and Beta, and a brother, Siggi, in Iceland. Gudbjorg will be buried in Crewe, Virginia, in a private setting, at a later date. Please sign the family online guestbook at: www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com

TRANAVITCH



CAROLE E. TRANAVITCH Carole E. Tranavitch passed away peacefully with her loving family by her side at her home in Clifton, VA on Friday October 16, 2020. She was born December 5, 1944 in Rahway, NJ. Carole married the love of her life, William V. Tranavitch Jr. on November 13, 1965 at St. Cecilia Church in Iselin, NJ. Carole enjoyed travel, reading, and wine which lead to many adventures with her husband. She loved all animals and donated to many animal causes. Always there with welcoming arms to whomever in need, a Mother to all. Her love of history led her to Mount Vernon where she worked as an Historical Interpreter for 12 years. She is survived by her husband, William; three sons, Vincent, Stephen, and Jeffrey; and one daughter Kimberly; four grandchildren; and one great grandchild. Due to the current environment services will be held privately at Fairfax Memorial Funeral Home in Fairfax, VA. We ask you to please donate to the Susan G Komen fund in Carole's name. An online guestbook is available at www.fmfh.com.

VERNON



JOHN ANGIER VERNON Passed away on September 20, 2020 at age 69 at home in Chapel Hill, NC surrounded by his loving family. He succumbed to illness associated with his 30-year battle with brain cancer. John was born in Cleveland, Ohio on May 2, 1951 to Ferol Bruce Vernon and Mary Vernon. John was the happy camper of the family with a quick wit and endearing charm. He grew up loving cars, acting in plays and running track. Running would become one of his lifelong practices. He graduated from Duke University in 1973 as a religion major, especially fascinated with Eastern Religions. One of his favorite principles of Buddhism became a personal mantra: "Ego is the cause of all suffering." He graduated from University of Virginia Darden School of Business in 1976 and then married his longtime girlfriend Michele Ruddy in Raleigh, NC in 1977. He was a founding partner in Hospitality Partners, a hotel management company in the DC area, for over 25 years. He loved building businesses, but never took work too seriously, infusing everything he did with his ebullient nature and goofy sense of humor. He became a mentor and beloved manager to so many that worked for him over the years. In 1980 John welcomed his first child, his son Ferol into the world, and a few years later his daughter Emily. Fatherhood was another role he took seriously, but infused with joy and laughter. At age 39, he was diagnosed with an astrocytoma brain tumor and given only a few years left to live. However, his radiation treatment was successful, and his long-term survival was aided by his ever-present positive attitude. From 2006-2013 John had several strokes, due to previous radiation treatments weakening his brain, which began to chip away at his mobility and ability to communicate. Even when confronted with the indignities of his strokes' effects, he insisted he was "Outstanding!" his favorite phrase, and a tribute to his eternal optimism. John is survived by his wife of 43 years, Michele Vernon (nee Ruddy); his two children, Ferol M. Vernon and Emily Vernon; three grandchildren; as well as his two older siblings, Ferol Bruce Vernon Jr. and Lynne Vernon. Memorial service at a later date.

DEATH NOTICE
WALKER-CONTEE

MARTHA ANN WALKER-CONTEE Martha Ann Walker-Contee, 88, of Washington, DC, gained her wings on Monday, October 12, 2020 at the Family Extensions Assisted Living Facility. She was a retired worker of the Department of Justice and H&R Block. She was also a dedicated member of Mt. Airy Baptist Church where she served for many years. Martha is survived by three children: Raymond Wood, Jacqueline Wood and Reginald Wood; two siblings, Anna M. Chin and Walter Jefferys, as well as a host of grandchildren and great grandchildren. She will be greatly missed by her family and friends.

Martha's homegoing service will take place on Wednesday, October 21, 2020 at The Kingdom of God Worship Center in Upper Marlboro, MD. The viewing is from 10 until time of Service at 11 a.m., can be seen virtually on Facebook Live on the church page. Ron Taylor II Funeral Home is overseeing the service.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DEATH NOTICE
WELLS



JOAN GAVIN WELLS On October 14, 2020, Joan Gavin Wells, wife of the late Ralph Anthony Wells and only child of the late Col. John A. Gavin and Violet Williams Gavin passed away in Bethesda, MD. She is survived by her son José Torres (Karen), daughter Shawn Taylor (Howard), and eight grandchildren. A Celebration of Life at Little Flower Catholic Church, Bethesda, MD will be opened to all once pandemic conditions permit. Private interment will follow at Ft. Lincoln Cemetery. Donations may be made in her honor to UsAgainstAlzheimers.

ZEHNER



ANNE COLEMAN ZEHNER Of Chevy Chase, MD died on October 11, 2020, at her home. She is survived by three sons, Andrew (Suzanne Whitty), David (Cheryl Lay) and John (Elizabeth Rasmussen); her brother, Carter Coleman (Kay); her sister-in-law, Karen Lucas (John); nine grandchildren; dear cousins Alice and Josephine; and many nieces and nephews. She was predeceased by her husband, Dr. Harry Zehner, Jr. in 1976, and her oldest son, Matthew, in 2003. She was born on April 10, 1932 in Bloomfield, New Jersey. She graduated from Middlebury College in Vermont in 1953. While living in San Francisco after college, she met and married Harry. They moved to the Washington, DC area in 1964 where they raised their four boys. Once her boys were no longer a threat to the community, she started a career at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, working as an assistant in the Vice Principal's Office. She had a wonderful circle of friends who supported her through life's joys and greatest challenges. She was most happy hosting lunch or dinner, especially Thanksgiving with her extended family, and an annual New Year's Eve dinner, where guests were required to predict events for the coming year, especially what would wax and wane. She served for many years as an usher at the Arena Stage and a volunteer at Hillwood Gardens and the Inwood House. Anne cared for many, many people in her long life, and passed on this giving trait to her youngest son, John, who was with her every step of the way in her final years. A memorial service will be held in the future. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the B-CC Foundation or the ALS Association.

IN MEMORIAM
JONES



**In Loving Memory
MARION LOUISE WHITLOCK JONES
March 29, 1918 - October 20, 2013**

Today we remember and celebrate you, Mom. It has been 7 years since you sailed to Heaven's shores. The sacrifices that you made on my behalf are innumerable; thank you. As one of your young admirers once said, "Mrs. Jones, your smile is a Day Maker!" Yes, Mom, your radiant smile and genuine, tender love touched everyone you encountered. Your beautiful legacy of loving kindness will live on in those whose lives you blessed. I was with you as you took your last breath- a gift to me from God. Mom, a beautiful woman of dignity, born with class; you had personal acclaim and professional success, and a profound love of family; on God, your heart and hope were founded. Affectionately known as "The General" and "Senator" by those captivated not only by your intelligence, sharp wit, and humor, but also by the sentimental softness resting in your eyes, and you were so loyal to your many friends.

I miss you, Mom, you are in my heart-always. Your soul is now resting with the Almighty, and I await until we meet again, in that place where there are no tears, no sunsets, and no dawnings-eternity.

Your Loving Daughter, Clifline
"This is the day the Lord has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it." Psalm 118:24
cliflinejones1@gmail.com

DEATH NOTICE
ATKINS



WILLIAM ROLAND ATKINS "Bill" (Age 90) Bill Atkins of Bowie, MD, passed away on October 9, 2020 of renal failure. Bill was born to Wallace and Shirley (Brooks) Atkins on May 8, 1930 during the Great Depression. He was born in Mine Run, VA and grew up in Baltimore (Dundalk), Maryland. During his youth, he was a proud member of the Dundalk Drum and Bugle Corp. At age 18, he joined the Marines during the Korean War as part of the 11th Engineer Battalion. Bill played trumpet and bugle in the Marine Corp Band including performances at the Orange Bowl and the Rose Bowl. While stationed at Camp Pendleton, CA near the end of his service, Bill had the thrill of his life. He and 11 other Marines were assigned to RKO Studios to portray Marines in a John Wayne movie, Flying Leathernecks. Bill never grew tired of telling stories of the filming of the movie and his interactions with John Wayne and Robert Ryan. He was an avid John Wayne fan throughout his life and in later years opened his own "John Wayne Museum" to display his wealth of memorabilia.

Bill is survived by his loving daughter and only child, Dr. Darlene Atkins and by his son-in-law, Dr. Ron VandeLoo. He is also survived by his brother Robert Atkins "Bunky", sister-in-law, Margie Finamore, many loving nieces and nephews, and many cherished friends. He lost his beloved wife, Rita Atkins, in 2009 after 54 years of marriage. Also, he was predeceased by his two older sisters, Marg Zorn and Gloria Strebeck and his best friend and brother-in-law, John Finamore.

Bill worked as a bricklayer in his younger days and he designed and built the house that he still lived in. Bill went on to work in the wholesale wine industry and then became a real estate broker who specialized in the sale of liquor stores.

Bill's passions were his family, his friends, his real estate career, and his John Wayne Museum. All those who knew Bill would agree that he was a real "character." Bill had a great sense of humor, was a born storyteller, and he embraced nostalgia while always seeking to learn new things. At age 80, he got his first computer and became a huge fan of Facebook.

Due to the COVID pandemic, a celebration of Bill's life will be held virtually. Burial at Mt. Olivet Cemetery will be private. www.devolfuneralhome.com

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE
BUCKHANTZ



ADELE ADELMAN BUCKHANTZ Devoted and loving wife of 66 years to her high school sweetheart Robert Buckhantz (deceased. 2015); beloved sister of Geraldine Adelman (deceased. 2003); mother of Terri Powell (Tom Kenny), Nancy Kolker (Gary) and Steven Buckhantz (Shelley Lawrence); unabashedly proud grandmother of Kim, Michael (Angela), Stacey and Brian Powell and Thomas, Courtney, and Kelly Kolker, and great-grandmother of Keaton Powell, Borni to Sol and Dorothy Adams, on September 19, 2020 in Washington, DC and raised in Arlington, Virginia. Attended George Washington University. Played an integral role in the family's building business, Town and Country Developers, where she led the design and decoration of different real estate projects. She also created Dell and daughters, a building venture in Arlington, Virginia. She was known for her impeccable taste and ability to shop for hours in high heels - never too tired to "throw an eye" and never compromising style for comfort. A collector of fine antiques and a savvy business negotiator, she also created Dell's Antiques and managed high-end estate sales in the D.C. Metropolitan area. Mimi was a connoisseur of foreign languages and was fluent in French, Spanish and enough Yiddish to be dangerous.

Above all, Mimi worshipped her children and grandchildren. She was the center of their universe and anyone who knew this family understood that well. Her memory will live on through her whole family, friends, and everyone who was lucky enough to know her. Funeral service will be private. www.sagelbloomfield.com

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DuBOSE



JESSIE BELLE BURTON DuBOSE Jessie Belle Burton DuBose of Washington, DC passed away on October 9, 2020 at Howard University Hospital, Washington, DC. A beloved mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, sister, aunt, cousin and friend, she is survived by her sister, Beatrice A. Carter; brothers, Thomas R. DuBose and Melvin A. DuBose. She leaves to cherish her memory, her loving grandchildren: Lakisha, Brenda, Chade, and Geraldine; grandsons, Troy, Wesley and Keshard; nine great grandchildren, seven nephews and three nieces, four great nieces and four great nephews, a host of cousins and many beloved close friends.

Jessie was born September 7, 1928 in Anderson, South Carolina. She was the first of four children of the late Richard Lee and Josephine Burton DuBose. Her only child, Keith David DuBose, preceded her in death.

A Celebration of Life will be held on Thursday, October 22, 2020 at the Victorious Life of Faith Church, 7110 Marlboro Pike, Forestville, Maryland, 20747 at 10:30 a.m.

DEATH NOTICE



Dr. DONALD E. HENSON
Captain, U.S. Public Health Service (Ret.)

Donald Earl Henson, M.D., internationally renowned pathologist and cancer researcher and long-time resident of Bethesda, Maryland, with his wife and daughter by his side, passed away on September 29, 2020 at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center. He served as a Public Health Officer in the Commissioned Corps, United States Public Health Service from 1969 to 1999, attaining the rank of Captain. He continued his professional activities at local institutions until just last year.

Dr. Henson was born on March 12, 1935 in St. Louis, MO, the only child of Kathryn Mary (nee Meier) and William Earl Henson, a machinist at the Universal Match Company in St. Louis, MO. He was graduated from St. Louis University High School, where he participated in Air Force ROTC. He earned his Bachelor of Science degree in Chemistry, with a minor in Philosophy, from St. Louis University and earned his Medical Degree from St. Louis University Medical School. He completed his first Postdoctoral Fellowship, in Microbiology, at the Wistar Institute in Philadelphia, PA and subsequently completed his internship, residency, and a Postdoctoral Fellowship in Pathology at Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's Medical Center in Chicago.

In 1969, he joined the US Public Health Service and the National Institutes of Health and eventually the Laboratory of Pathology of the National Cancer Institute. He served as Program Director for Diagnosis in the Breast Cancer Program of the Division of Cancer Biology and Diagnosis; Program Director for the Early Detection Branch in the Division of Cancer Prevention; and Program Director in the Cancer Biomarkers Research Group.

DEATH NOTICE
PETRIE



A. JEAN PETRIE A. Jean Petrie of Frederick, MD, formerly of Gaithersburg, MD, passed away on Thursday, October 15, 2020. Jean Petrie was a Registered Nurse and first practiced at St. Luke's Hospital in Kansas City, MO. Jean was also a Red Cross Nurse Administrator with the American National Red Cross. She was one of the main coordinators for establishing water and emergency support stations for the celebrants during the 1976 Bicentennial Celebrations in Washington DC. She was Chairman of Red Cross Volunteers from 1974 through 1976. Jean was also a professional member and active practitioner of the American Massage Therapy Association AMTA. She was also a long-time cosmetic advisor with Merle Norman Cosmetic Studios in the Rockville/Bethesda area. Beloved wife of the late Benjamin R. Petrie, Jr.; loving mother of Patricia Jean Davis (Bruce); Brian R. Petrie (Angela); Bruce R. Petrie (Ginger) and the late Benjamin R. Petrie, III; mother-in-law of Irene Petrie and Sally Petrie; sister of the late C. Wayne Smith. She is also survived by her 10 grandchildren: Cary Haugh, Julie Johnson, Becky Whitmore, Jessi Webb, Laura Smith, Keith Petrie, Andrew Petrie, Ashley Petrie, Leigh Rose Petrie, Benjamin Petrie IV, and 14 great grandchildren, Avery, Jameson and Grace Petrie, Skyler Taylor, Hannah Whitmore, Jordan Haugh, Jacob Haugh, Georgia Webb, Cody Webb, Andrew, Alex, Matthew and Madeline Vinci, Charlie and William Smith and two great great grandchildren, Aberdeen Taylor and Lily Spaulding. A private family service, with livestreaming available, will be held due to COVID-19 gathering restrictions. Interment at Arlington National Cemetery will take place at a future date, which will be announced on the funeral home website. Memorial contributions may be made to Boy Scouts of America National Capital Area Council, 9190 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Maryland 20814. Please view and sign the family's online guestbook at: www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DEATH NOTICE
PORCH



ALVIN Q. PORCH, SR. On Tuesday, October 13, 2020 he died surrounded by family. He is survived by his loving wife Belinda; son, Alvin Jr.; three grandchildren; and mother Lola Ferguson. Public viewing will be held on Thursday, October 22, 2020 at St. Matthews Baptist Church, 2001 Brooks Dr. District Heights, MD from 9 a.m. until 11 a.m. with a private service directly following. Rev. Peter R. Blue, Sr. officiating. A memorial service will be held on Monday, October 26, 2020 at Knox-High Mortuary, Inc. in Emporia, VA from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. Interment: Gilliam Family Cemetery.

DEATH NOTICE

HENSON

Dr. Henson's pioneering research included reporting the pathology of CMV hepatitis. In collaboration with the University of Illinois, he was among the first to treat leukemia in children with L-Asparaginase. Collaborating with the National Institute of Standards and Technology, Dr. Henson was among the first group to show that NMR, now called MRI, could detect cancer in the living animal.

Research interests included the analysis of prognostic factors, diagnostic encoding, and the morphology of pre-cancerous lesions. At the College of American Pathologists, he initiated the publication of practice protocols for anatomic pathology. All laboratories are now required to use these protocols as part of accreditation with the College. His pioneering work in developing cancer staging systems includes The College of American Pathologists' Systematized Nomenclature of Pathology and Systematized Nomenclature of Medicine. In 1976, he co-authored The World Health Organization's International Classification of Diseases for Oncology (ICD-O), offering the staging guidelines, known as the TNM Staging System, for solid tumors observed in clinical practice. For many years, he served as the United States representative to the TNM Committee of the International Union Against Cancer in Geneva.

He served as Chair of the American Joint Committee on Cancer and Chair of the Cancer Committee of the College of American Pathologists.

After retiring from the Public Health Service in 1999, from 2002 to 2014 Dr. Henson continued his work on prognostic factors and cancer patient staging. He was named as the Armed Forces Director of the Office of Cancer Prevention and Control at the George Washington University Cancer Institute. Beginning in 2014 he continued his research at USUHS (Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences), most recently with grants from the Murtha Cancer Research Center.

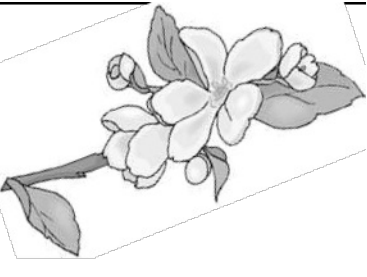
He has served as a consultant to the World Health Organization and to the Pan American Health Organization. He served as a medical delegate to the Soviet Union during the cold war. He assisted the Brazilian Ministry of Health in the development of tumor registration. He was invited by the Radiation Effects Research Foundation in Japan where he published on the incidence of breast cancer in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors.

He held faculty positions in Departments of Pathology at Georgetown University School of Medicine, George Washington University School of Medicine, and the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences (USUHS). He also served as Clinical Prof of

DEATH NOTICE
RAY



FREDERICK C. RAY Entered into eternal rest on Wednesday, October 14, 2020. He is survived by his wife, Rev. Dr. Lois A. Poag-Ray, daughter, Dr. Carol Renee Ray; son, Thomas Donnell P. Ray (Kyia); three grandchildren, Donnell, Mason and Mekhi and a host of nieces, nephews, cousins, other relatives and friends. Mr. Ray will lie in state at Reid Temple AME Church, 11400 Glendale Blvd., Glendale, MD on Wednesday, October 21 from 10 a.m. until 12 Noon Drive-by Viewing only. Interment at Rock Creek Cemetery. www.stewartfuneralhome.com



CEMETERY LOTS

Ft. Lincoln Cemetery - 3 Prime Lots - Sites 3-4-5; Blk 6 immediately right by the clock. Sales Ofc. states each Lot sells for \$9,000 sell for \$6,000 or negotiable. Contact: Ray at 443-223-6568 leave message.

DEATH NOTICES

**MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.**
**To place a notice, call:
202-334-4122
800-627-1150 ext 4-4122
FAX:
202-334-7188
EMAIL:
deathnotices@washpost.com**

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party. Fax & email deadline 3 p.m. daily Phone-in deadline 4 p.m. M-F 3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2020 RATES: (PER DAY)

**MONDAY-SATURDAY
Black & White
1" - \$150 (text only)
2" - \$340 (text only)
3" - \$490
4" - \$535
5" - \$678

SUNDAY
Black & White
1" - \$179 (text only)
2" - \$376 (text only)
3" - \$543
4" - \$572
5" - \$738**

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices \$150 each additional inch wkday \$179 each additional inch Sunday

**MONDAY-SATURDAY
Color
3" - \$628
4" - \$676
5" - \$826

SUNDAY
Color
3" - \$665
4" - \$760
5" - \$926**

6"+ for ALL color notices \$249 each additional inch wkday \$277 each additional inch Sunday and make payment in person

Notices with photos begin at 3" (All photos add 2" to your notice.)

ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

MEMORIAL PLAQUES: All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through www.legacy.com

LEGACY.COM Includes in-text notices Optional for in Memoriams

PLEASE NOTE:

Notices must be placed via phone, fax or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person. Payment must be made via phone with



DEATH NOTICE

FRAUTSCHI



MARK ALDEN FRAUTSCHI Mark Alden Frautschi died peacefully on the morning of October 13, 2020 at the age of 63 following a six-year illness. He spent his final days surrounded by his family and many friends.

Mark was born in Northampton, Massachusetts on March 20, 1957, and soon thereafter moved to Chapel Hill, North Carolina where the family grew to include Anne, Scott and Tyler.

As a child Mark loved figuring out how things worked. Everything from light switches in his first-grade classroom to black holes outer space were examined, taken apart if possible, and sometimes even improved. Chemistry kits, rockets and a Gilbert erector set were his favorite toys. But he and his friends also found fun in everyday items, such as the tray they used common baking ingredients to build-and ignite-an incendiary device in the kitchen. (He never did share that recipe!) Mark was a natural scientist who delighted in coming up with ingenious solutions to everyday problems, and who would study anything that piqued his curiosity until he figured it out.

Music was another of his lifelong loves, everything from the Beatles to Carly Simon to Pat Metheny and most classical music. He took great pride in his carefully curated record collection and the high-end stereo equipment on which he enjoyed his music. In his early teens he began a life-long passion for photography. He built a darkroom in the basement, and his first job was at Foisie's-Chapel Hill's iconic camera store on Franklin Street. From those days on, Mark was rarely seen without

a camera bag hanging at his hip. He started parting with his Nikon SLR, but over time switched to Leicas, which he felt maintained superior design standards. Many of you reading this will surely recall posing for him over the years. It was never going to be a quick photo shoot, but the result was always going to be beautiful.

Mark's love of photography extended to a passion for movies, especially science fiction. His favorite movie was "2001: A Space Odyssey" by Stanley Kubrick, his favorite producer in addition to enjoying a movie's story, Mark had great fun looking for flaws and errors, such as a reflection showing the camera crew off screen, or someone wearing an item of clothing from the wrong time period. It was one of the few games he liked to play.

Memories of his childhood would be incomplete without mentioning all the wonderful camping trips at Kerr Lake with life-long family friends-the Hiskeys, Filleys, Murrays and others. Mark, his siblings and their families enjoyed a final trip to the lake in 2019.

Mark attended Carolina Friends School and graduated from Chapel Hill High School in 1975, where he formed friendships he would cherish for the rest of his life. In addition to his academic excellence, Mark could be quite mischievous. One morning before class he and his friends hijacked the school PA system and piped entertainingly inappropriate recordings over the loudspeaker. The pranksters were never caught, and the story has provided many laughs over the years.

Mark studied at Penn State University before graduating with honors from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1983 with a Bachelor of Science in Physics. He continued his scientific explorations at Ohio State University where he earned a Master of Science and a Ph.D. in Physics. He was a Graduate Research Assistant at Ohio State from 1987-1992, spending three years in Japan leading a team working on the high-energy accelerator at the KEK Lab at Tsukuba in the Ibaraki Prefecture. He did additional post-doctoral work as a Research Associate Scientist at the University of New Mexico from 1992 to 1995, where he was on the ground-breaking team that co-discovered the top quark, which is the most massive of all observed elementary particles. The following year he was a Research Associate Scientist at Texas Tech University, and in 1996 he joined John Hopkins University as an Associate Research Scientist.

In the late 1990s Mark was actively involved in the Y2K problem and quickly became an internationally recognized expert. He partic

ipated in Senate and White House expert panels on the Y2K problem, and was a leading sharing tools and provided direction to numerous organizations across the globe.

Starting with his role as ePractice Director of Cook Ross, Inc., a leading diversity management consulting firm in Silver Spring, Maryland, Mark spent most of the last twenty years of his professional life working as a technical consultant, speaker and writer. He was always a staunch advocate for women's equality and rights, and during this time he switched his focus from particle physics to understanding and combating structural racism and sexism within the scientific community and elsewhere. He put his findings into the monograph "Partnership 2.0: Why are there so few women in the STEM fields?" which he was in the process of expanding for publication.

As an adult, Mark became an avid cyclist and continued to enjoy camping and hiking. On the technology front he was an early adopter and strong endorser for all things Apple, and he became a staunch practitioner regarding online security, as his email signature attested. He made friends at every turn wherever his studies and work led him. He was a kind, well-respected man with an exceptionally creative mind, who nurtured and treasured his many friendships, and when he laughed, it was one of those deep belly-laughs that would frequently end in tears of joy.

Mark was a loving brother, uncle, cousin and friend. He was deeply committed to his family and close friends. He took special care to visit regularly and to check in, especially as relatives and friends aged or became infirm. Mark's generosity of spirit and his dedication to fostering these relationships that were so important to him is a good reminder for all of us to visit and connect as much as possible with those we love.

Mark was predeceased by his parents, Judith Guild Stewart and Richard Lane Frautschi (Brooke). He is survived by his three siblings, Anne Hayden Frautschi (Julie), Scott Sargent Frautschi (Joan) and Tyler Lane Frautschi (Tiffany) as well as his nephew Kevin Frautschi; three nieces, Lauren Frautschi, Sara Frautschi and Samantha Frautschi; and cousins Henry Ward (Rita), Mel Watkin (Jerry Montiel), Ted Watkin and Kym Watkin-Statham (Geoff Statham). While he never had children of his own, he treated his nieces and nephew as if they were.

At this time the date for a celebration of Mark's life is still undetermined due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In lieu of flowers, the family asks that you please consider making a donation to your local Red Cross blood bank.

THE WEATHER

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER • TWITTER: @CAPITALWEATHER • FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

Sunnier and warmer



After a lovely mid-October Monday, expect another nice one Tuesday. There could be some patchy fog early and some cloudy skies, but things should mostly clear up. Expect high temperatures in the mid-70s, and perhaps the upper 70s in some places. Winds are from the south around 5 mph.

Today
Partly sunny



78° 63°

FEELS*: **78°**
CHNCE PRECIP: 10%
WIND: **SSW 6-12 mph**
HUMIDITY: **Moderate**

Wednesday
Mostly sunny, warm



79° 62°

FEELS: **80°**
P: 0%
W: **S 6-12 mph**
H: **High**

Thursday
Partly sunny, warm



78° 61°

FEELS: **81°**
P: 0%
W: **SSE 4-8 mph**
H: **Moderate**

Friday
Partly sunny



75° 61°

FEELS: **74°**
P: 10%
W: **SE 6-12 mph**
H: **Moderate**

Saturday
Mostly cloudy



76° 56°

FEELS: **75°**
P: 25%
W: **SW 6-12 mph**
H: **Moderate**

Sunday
Mostly cloudy, shower

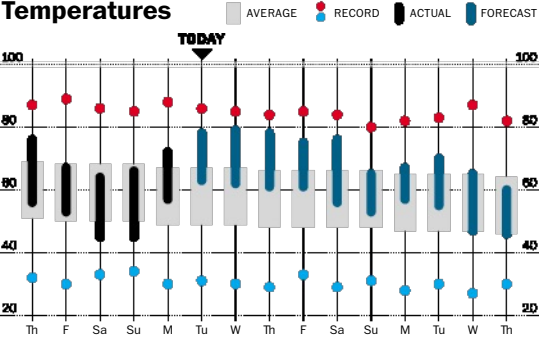


65° 53°

FEELS: **63°**
P: 30%
W: **NNE 7-14 mph**
H: **Moderate**

OFFICIAL RECORD

Temperatures

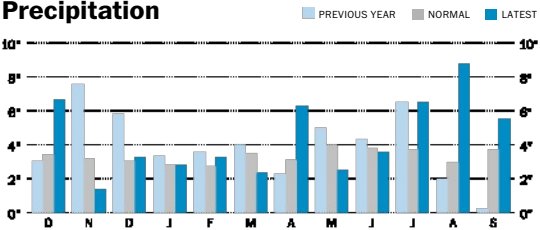


Statistics through 5 p.m. Monday

	Reagan	Dulles	BWI
High	72° 4:00 p.m.	72° 2:45 p.m.	72° 3:00 p.m.
Low	57° 6:49 a.m.	49° 2:03 a.m.	49° 5:01 a.m.
Normal	67°/49°	67°/43°	66°/44°
Record high	88° 1938	87° 2016	87° 2016
Record low	30° 1880	25° 1976	29° 2015

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (Reagan): this month: **+0.8°** yr. to date: **+2.2°**

Precipitation



	Reagan	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.00"	Trace	0.00"
Total this month	1.83"	1.33"	1.83"
Normal	2.09"	1.98"	2.07"
Total this year	43.21"	37.83"	43.92"
Normal	32.30"	33.99"	34.05"

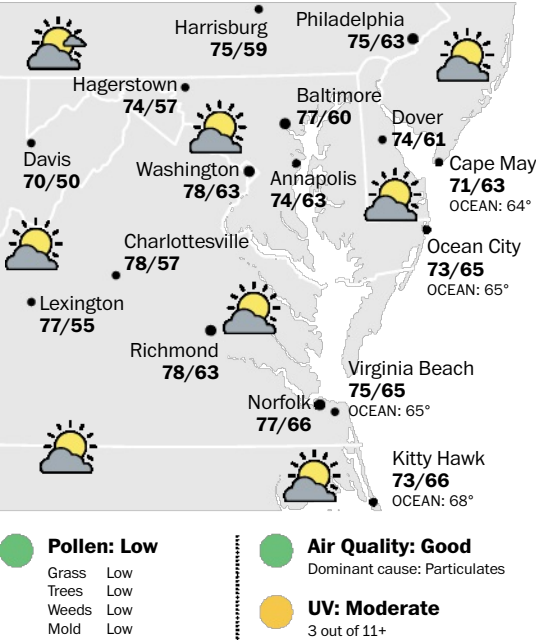
Moon Phases



Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	7:23 a.m.	6:22 p.m.
Moon	11:52 a.m.	9:29 p.m.
Venus	4:21 a.m.	4:57 p.m.
Mars	6:07 p.m.	6:46 a.m.
Jupiter	1:48 p.m.	11:19 p.m.
Saturn	2:10 p.m.	11:50 p.m.

REGION



Blue Ridge: Today, partly sunny. High 65-69. Wind southwest 4-8 mph. Tonight, mainly clear, fog late. Low 50-56. Wind south 4-8 mph. Wednesday, mostly sunny. High 65-70. Wind southwest 6-12 mph. Thursday, sunny. High 64-68. Wind south 3-6 mph.

Atlantic beaches: Today, partly sunny. High 72-77. Wind south 4-8 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy, fog late. Low 60-66. Wind south 4-8 mph. Wednesday, partly sunny. High 73-78. Wind south 4-8 mph. Thursday, partly sunny. High 70-74. Wind east 4-8 mph.

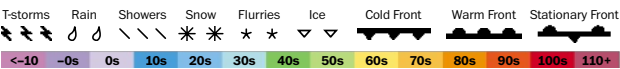
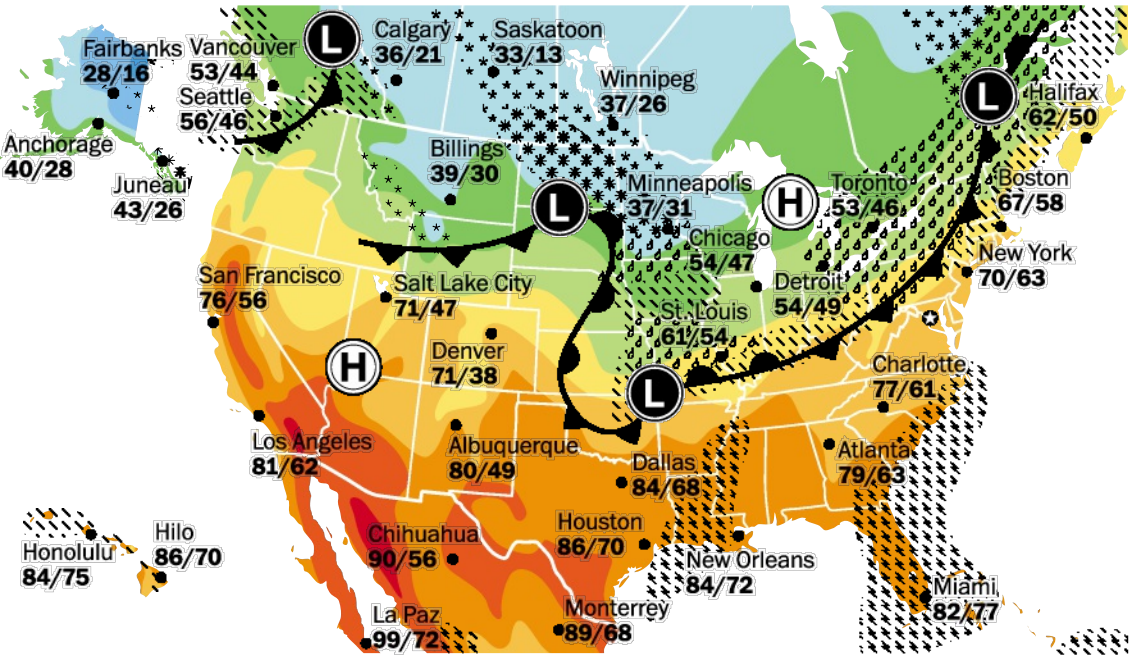
Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, morning fog, partly sunny. Wind south 3-6 knots. Waves around 1 foot. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, morning fog, partly sunny. Wind south 3-6 knots. Waves around 1 foot on the lower Potomac and on Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.00 feet today, with no change of 3.00 Wednesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides

	(High tides in Bold)
Washington	6:23 a.m. 11:26 a.m. 6:17 p.m. 11:41 p.m.
Annapolis	2:52 a.m. 8:08 a.m. 2:28 p.m. 9:26 p.m.
Ocean City	4:31 a.m. 10:54 a.m. 5:27 p.m. 11:18 p.m.
Norfolk	12:30 a.m. 6:32 a.m. 1:02 p.m. 7:26 p.m.
Point Lookout	4:17 a.m. 10:09 a.m. 5:11 p.m. none

NATION

Weather map features for noon today.



Yesterday's National
High: Palm Springs, CA **101°**
Low: Poplar, MT **3°**
for the 48 contiguous states

World
High: Matam, Senegal **108°**
Low: Delyankir, Russia **-18°**
excludes Antarctica

NATIONAL

	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	63/50/r	73/52/c
Albuquerque	80/49/s	80/50/s
Anchorage	40/28/pc	40/26/s
Atlanta	79/63/pc	79/64/pc
Austin	89/71/t	88/68/t
Baltimore	77/60/pc	78/60/s
Billings, MT	39/30/pc	38/21/sn
Birmingham	82/62/c	84/66/pc
Bismarck, ND	39/20/c	37/26/pc
Boise	63/45/pc	63/31/pc
Boston	67/58/pc	68/60/pc
Buffalo	55/48/c	67/48/r
Burlington, VT	59/45/r	67/50/r
Charleston, SC	82/69/t	83/68/s
Charleston, WV	76/55/c	80/52/pc
Charlotte	77/61/pc	79/61/pc
Cheyenne, WY	62/35/pc	68/40/pc
Chicago	54/47/c	59/52/c
Cincinnati	63/60/sh	73/58/c
Cleveland	56/54/c	66/52/c
Dallas	84/68/c	85/68/pc
Denver	71/38/pc	73/50/s

Des Moines	45/36/c	52/47/sh
Detroit	54/49/pc	63/48/pc
El Paso	90/57/s	90/58/s
Fairbanks, AK	28/16/c	28/12/pc
Fargo, ND	37/25/sn	38/27/c
Hartford, CT	69/58/c	73/57/pc
Honolulu	84/75/sh	87/73/pc
Houston	86/70/pc	86/68/pc
Indianapolis	60/57/c	68/58/c
Jackson, MS	85/63/c	87/66/s
Jacksonville, FL	82/71/t	81/70/pc
Kansas City, MO	55/42/r	60/56/c
Las Vegas	91/61/s	92/62/s
Little Rock	81/62/t	83/63/s
Los Angeles	81/62/c	79/62/pc
Louisville	71/63/sh	79/61/pc
Memphis	82/63/pc	84/65/s
Miami	82/77/t	85/78/t
Milwaukee	51/45/c	54/49/pc
Minneapolis	54/26/sn	39/35/c
Nashville	81/59/c	83/61/s
New Orleans	84/72/c	85/72/pc
New York City	70/63/pc	71/62/pc
Norfolk	77/66/pc	78/64/pc

Oklahoma City	72/59/c	83/65/pc
Omaha	50/36/c	53/47/c
Orlando	85/73/t	82/73/t
Philadelphia	75/63/pc	76/62/s
Phoenix	98/67/s	97/67/s
Pittsburgh	62/56/r	75/55/c
Portland, ME	61/50/c	60/53/sh
Portland, OR	60/47/c	57/39/pc
Providence, RI	68/59/pc	72/59/pc
Raleigh, NC	77/62/s	80/61/pc
Reno, NV	78/43/pc	79/36/s
Richmond	78/63/pc	79/60/s
Sacramento	90/53/s	88/56/s
St. Louis	61/54/c	68/61/c
St. Thomas, VI	87/79/s	87/78/pc
Salt Lake City	71/47/r	75/44/s
San Diego	75/63/pc	75/64/pc
San Francisco	76/56/pc	75/55/s
San Juan, PR	88/76/s	88/76/pc
Seattle	56/46/c	53/40/pc
Spokane, WA	53/36/pc	48/26/pc
Syracuse	58/49/r	74/49/r
Tampa	86/75/t	84/74/t
Wichita	60/49/c	73/65/c

	Today	Tomorrow
Addis Ababa	74/49/pc	74/50/c
Amsterdam	58/54/r	67/55/r
Athens	74/61/pc	69/62/pc
Auckland	68/57/r	67/57/c
Baghdad	96/65/pc	96/66/pc
Bangkok	87/74/t	87/74/r
Beijing	68/47/pc	62/36/s
Berlin	56/51/c	61/55/sh
Bogota	66/49/c	67/49/pc
Brussels	59/55/r	69/56/r
Buenos Aires	61/56/sh	64/58/pc
Dakar	92/82/pc	90/80/pc
Dublin	58/47/r	56/41/sh
Edinburgh	60/49/r	57/43/r
Frankfurt	60/50/c	67/55/pc
Geneva	63/47/pc	69/51/pc
Ham., Bermuda	81/75/s	81/77/pc
Helsinki	39/30/c	46/44/r
Ho Chi Minh City	88/76/t	88/76/t

Hong Kong	83/71/s	83/71/pc
Islamabad	90/61/pc	89/60/pc
Istanbul	67/62/pc	70/62/pc
Jerusalem	81/63/s	77/61/s
Johannesburg	89/60/s	80/56/s
Kabul	79/41/s	76/37/s
Kingston, Jam.	86/77/t	86/77/t
Kolkata	93/79/t	90/78/r
Lagos	86/76/t	87/76/t
Lima	67/61/pc	67/60/pc
Lisbon	65/59/pc	67/56/r
London	66/56/pc	62/52/r
Madrid	70/57/r	67/54/r
Manila	84/79/t	87/79/t
Mexico City	75/52/s	76/50/pc
Montreal	54/41/sh	64/44/r
Moscow	39/29/r	38/36/r
Mumbai	90/80/t	92/81/t
New Delhi	91/64/pc	92/68/pc
Nairobi	76/60/pc	79/58/t
Oslo	42/40/r	49/45/sh
Ottawa	51/38/c	62/39/r
Paris	61/57/r	70/57/r
Prague	55/42/pc	60/47/c

Rio de Janeiro	81/72/pc	80/72/s
Riyadh	91/62/pc	91/62/pc
Rome	68/48/s	69/50/pc
San Salvador	84/69/t	82/70/t
Santiago	82/50/s	78/49/s
Sarajevo	60/33/s	64/33/pc
Seoul	70/49/pc	68/51/c
Shanghai	73/62/pc	69/58/c
Singapore	87/78/r	88/78/t
Stockholm	43/41/r	50/48/c
Sydney	68/58/s	73/63/pc
Taipei City	78/75/r	84/75/pc
Tehran	79/55/s	77/54/s
Tokyo	68/57/pc	68/60/pc
Toronto	53/46/c	64/45/sh
Vienna	57/44/pc	62/44/pc
Warsaw	52/45/c	56/50/c

Key: s=sunny, pc=partly cloudy, c=cloudy, r=rain, sh=showers, t=thunderstorms, sf=snow flurries, sn=snow, h=ice
Sources: AccuWeather.com; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airnow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service
* AccuWeather's **RealFeel Temperature®** combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."



ADD YOUR PHONE TO THE COVID FIGHT

HELP DC STOP COVID-19

Get COVID-19 exposure notifications to help protect your community while protecting your privacy.

coronavirus.dc.gov/dccan



JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

In the center, a.k.a. the bull’s-eye

The humorist David Sedaris, considering the psychology of the undecided voter, once envisioned a scenario on an airplane. A flight attendant comes through the cabin offering passengers a choice of two meals: chicken, or a “platter of s--- with bits of broken glass in it.”

“To be undecided in this election,” he wrote, “is to pause for a moment and then ask how the chicken is cooked.”

Sedaris was writing about the choice between Sens. Barack Obama and John McCain in 2008 — a bitter election cycle that looks impossibly serene in retrospect. This year, many people see the choice as something like chicken (boiled, unseasoned) vs. flying the plane into a mountainside.

How could anyone not be able to make up their mind between that guy and *that* guy?

Yes, they are both elderly White men. But President Trump and Joe Biden have pitched voters on very different visions of America — different ideas about its history and its future, about justice and mercy, about the truth and how one figures it out, about how a president (or, really, a person) should behave.

Biden has been on Washington’s main stage for nearly half a century, and Trump’s lack of filter over the

It’s the most vitriolic political season in living memory, and the undecided voter has inspired a special kind of scorn

BY MAURA JUDKIS

past five years has left little doubt about who he is and where he stands. What’s left to decide?

“To be undecided in 2020, to me, you literally would have to be on an ice floe,” says Tom Nichols, a national security professor and senior adviser for the Lincoln Project. “If you’re just coming back from an Antarctic research station, I would understand.”

Undecided voters are the butt of jokes. But they also tend to be venerated — by media, by campaigns — as freethinkers, tough customers, keepers of a rarefied common sense that exists above the partisan tug-of-war. They are granted special audiences with candidates, who must persuade them personally while other Undecideds look on. They are, Nichols says, “the prized unicorn in the political menagerie.”

In 2020, they’re the “mentally impaired unicorns,” Stephen Colbert said on a recent episode of “The Late Show.”

With so much on the line, the Undecideds have become more mystifying — and frustrating — than ever.

Nobody believes they are real. Oh, and everyone hates them.

SEE UNDECIDED ON C3

A ribbiting take on a culture war

Film follows cartoonist trying to reclaim his work — and reality

BY MICHAEL CAVNA

The futile pursuit of analyzing comedy has long been likened to dissecting a frog: You bore the audience and end up with a lifeless, croaked amphibian. Yet is there something true to be learned if instead, you study a *comic* frog?

In the case of “Feels Good Man,” the Sundance Festival award winner now available on demand on various platforms, you end up with one of the most politically relevant films of the year.

On one level, the 90-minute documentary is about California cartoonist Matt Furie and his globally known creation, Pepe the Frog. The benign, chillaxin’ character was plucked more than a decade ago from the relative obscurity of the Myspace-sprung slacker-life comic “Boy’s Club” and transmogrified into a meme by 4chan users and others and cribbed by pop singers — before swimming into the sociopolitical mainstream in 2016 as a symbol co-opted by the alt-right and shared on social media by the campaigning Trump family.

Through a wider lens, though, “Feels Good Man” speaks to how Internet culture has come to influence this precise moment in

SEE PEPE ON C4

BOOK WORLD

White women’s tears, seen through

BY ROSA BOSHIER

“How is it that we have been so conditioned to privilege the emotional comfort of white people?” Ruby Hamad asks in the introduction to her essay collection “White Tears/Brown Scars,” which tracks the fraught legacy of White womanhood across the globe. Catalyzed by Hamad’s viral



WHITE TEARS/BROWN SCARS
How White Feminism Betrays Women of Color
By Ruby Hamad
Catapult, 304 pp. \$16.95

2018 Guardian article, “How white women use strategic tears to silence women of colour,” “White Tears/Brown Scars” posits that White women’s tears signal power, not weakness. “When white women cry,” Hamad writes, “it also makes them able to leave the conversation and choose not to listen, whereas women of color do not have the ability to choose to leave.” Highly anecdotal — full of first-person accounts based on exhaustive reporting — but also meticulously cited, the essays outline how this tactical affect upholds the status quo of White privilege and power, and its global and social ramifications.

SEE BOOK WORLD ON C3

CRITIC’S NOTEBOOK

“The Race” returns, kinda, to the campaign trail. **c2**

CAROLYN HAX

A mother’s cutting remark to the fun aunt. **c2**



KIDSPOST

Trump, Biden and the issues that matter most to kids. **c8**

‘I can’t investigate something I don’t know about’

Child protective services agent worries about the kids she isn’t seeing

BY ELLEN MCCARTHY

In her three years as a child protective services investigator, Amanda Neal has been called to examine horrors upon horrors: babies with broken bones and golf ball-size contusions, toddlers crawling on floors littered with broken glass, children who had been molested day after day by grown-ups they loved. She’s seen kids who were angry, hungry, hospitalized. But what horrified her the most was when the calls stopped coming.

“I can’t investigate something I don’t know about,” she says. For seven months and who-knows-how-much-longer, the coronavirus pandemic has confined people largely to their homes — a place of comfort for many, but a source of danger for the children Neal works to protect.

Before the pandemic, it wasn’t unusual for Neal to be assigned two new cases a day by her bosses at the Michigan Department of Health and Human Services. By the third week of March, as Michigan closed its schools, her caseload dropped to two

SEE INVESTIGATOR ON C2



ALI LAPETINA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Amanda Neal, a child protective services investigator in Michigan, has noticed calls slowing down and her caseload dropping during the coronavirus pandemic. She doesn’t take it as a good sign.

Concerns over child abuse cases ‘we don’t know about’

INVESTIGATOR FROM C1

per week.

Neal is the worrying type, and in the quiet vacuum of calls, she began to fear for the families she had already encountered. Not just the children, but also the parents who had worked so hard to get sober or get a job, to get into a stable, livable home so they could regain custody of their kids. Now the substance abuse programs were closed and the jobs were vanishing. The supports that boosted those families to above the water line were buckling.

Then Neal started thinking about the children she hadn't met. The ones for whom school is a safe harbor — where they don't fear being hurt, and where teachers might notice a bruise or a head hung low and think to ask if everything is okay at home. Educators are the leading source of reporting calls to child protective services agencies across the country. Like doctors and day-care workers, they are mandated to report abuse or neglect if they suspect it's happening.

But now teachers weren't seeing those kids, and kids couldn't confide in those teachers, and Neal's phone wasn't ringing. She knew that there were still floors with broken glass, babies with broken bones, kids getting hit and going hungry. She knew it was happening, but she didn't know enough to help.

“The ones we don't know about” are the cases that worry her the most, she says.

“And we may never know. At least until this is over.”

Neal, 32, knows what a lot of people think of child protective services, or CPS, workers. She grew up hearing it: “People called them kidnappers.”

She also knows the impact a social worker can make on another person's life. Like the impact one social worker made on hers.

Neal got pregnant at 14. She found out during the week of her freshman orientation for high school. Her parents insisted Neal take full responsibility for her

child. Once her daughter, Hailey, was born, Neal would bring her along on babysitting gigs so she could earn money for diapers and formula. Hailey went to a day-care center at the school, and Neal was forced to enroll in a child development program for teen moms.

The class was led by Maria Sutka, a school social worker whom Neal still thinks of as an angel. Neal would confide in Sutka about mean comments from peers, struggles with her parents, fears that she was failing Hailey. “She didn't judge you. She didn't make you feel less-than,” Neal says in a phone interview. “You could come to her saying something horrific, you know, and she would always try to turn it into a positive situation. ‘What can we do to make this better?’”

After 10 years of part-time work and part-time school, Neal became the first in her family to graduate from college and applied to work for the CPS office in Monroe County, 45 minutes south of Detroit, hoping she could be the one to ask others: “What can we do to make this better?”

For 2½ years she tried to do that every day. Then came the coronavirus. She was told to work remotely — only a few investigators from her office were still making home visits. Finally, in July, Neal was issued protective gear and cleared to go back out into the field.

“There was so much depression,” she says. “I had some families that were just barely hanging on.”

The cases she sees now are often severe — situations that have spiraled so out of control that neighbors or relatives call to report them. Small children left home alone for hours. Kids with special needs wandering the streets. Parents overdosing or pulling weapons on each other. Babies born with drugs in their system.

One pattern that has jumped out: “A lot of parents sleeping all day. A lot of kids were struggling with that. You knock on the door and the little one answers,” she says. No job for the parents, no



ALI LAPETINA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Amanda Neal knows firsthand the impact social workers can have on a person's life and worries about kids not getting help recently.

school for the kids, no need for bedtimes or alarm clocks. “There's no structure. . . . And I think the scary part is the kids were accepting that and thinking it was normal.”

The parents were starting to think it was normal, too: “A lot of the parents felt defeated and didn't know what tomorrow holds. Everyone lost their jobs. You ask, ‘What's your source of income?’ Everybody says, ‘Unemployed.’ ‘Unemployed.’ ‘Unemployed.’ Then you say, ‘Do you have any idea when you go back to work?’ “No.”

In normal times, when she was assigned a new case, Neal's first stop was usually the

school. She'd show her I.D. at the front office and ask to speak to the child in question in a private room.

Neal would tell the child who she was, that she spoke to lots of kids for her job and that it was her turn to talk to them. She'd ask what they liked doing in school or what they had eaten for dinner last night, trying to build a rapport. Then she would ask open-ended questions to try to find out if the child was in any danger. When she left, she'd follow up with the parents.

Once the pandemic hit, there was no more school or private rooms. Neal has no choice but to show up at the child's home. And she understands that she is not a welcome visitor.

“Interviewing the child in the house is much harder. Because you can see they feel uncomfortable. You can see that they don't want to say anything that is bad about Mom or Dad. You can see they are hesitant about telling you things because they may get in trouble,” she says. Neal usually tries to take children outside to talk, but the gaze of prying neighbors can be just as disturbing. “So you're unable to get a clear understanding of what's happening in the house.”

Neal is married with a 2-year-old son in addition to Hailey, who is now 18. When she's assigned a new case, she goes into mama-bear mode. But she knows that most of the time, the parents involved need her help as much as the kids.

“As a young parent, I understand what it's like to be flustered. I understand what it was like to not know why my baby was crying. But I also had a parent who told me to ‘put that baby in a crib and walk away,’ ” she says. “But if you're in a homeless shelter and your baby's crying and everyone is staring at you because you can't make your baby quiet. . . . or you're living in a hotel room and you're worried about getting kicked out, I can see how people get flustered to the point of making a decision that is wrong. I can see how that comes about.” A wailing baby is shaken, a newly sober parent picks up a needle, a terrible choice is made in a moment of crisis.

A mentor advised Neal never to tell people she's working with that she understands what they're going through. “Because you don't. You have no idea what it's like unless you're in their shoes. You don't know what it's like to have substance abuse issues. You don't know what it's like to live in poverty,” she says. “I thought I had it hard. I had a walk in the park compared to these people.”

Over the summer, Neal was called to investigate a report of neglect. She showed up at 8 a.m. and a 6-year-old answered the door, trailed by two younger siblings. An hour later, their mother showed up on a bike.

The only job she had been able to find was one working at night, when her children were mostly asleep.

“She was busting her butt, riding back and forth,” Neal says. “Doing everything she could.”

The woman had no family help, no support, no child care. She was defensive with Neal, scared that her children could be taken away. But Neal and her colleagues were able to get the kids into a free day care and persuade the mother's employer to switch her to day shifts.

Those are the cases that keep Neal going — when she's certain she's made life easier for a family. “I just feel like I've accomplished something,” she says.

But for every moment Neal feels that sense of accomplishment, there are two when she wonders what she could have done better. “With this job, my decisions affect somebody's life. And I don't take that lightly.”

With so many resources still unavailable because of pandemic-related closures, Neal is second-guessing herself more than ever. She'll lie awake at night wondering about a parent she suspected of drug use but couldn't get tested because testing centers are shut down.

“Am I going to get a complaint the next day that this person is overdosed?” she wonders. “I'm really worried about the kids — what they were doing. Are they going to obtain any of [the drugs]? And when everybody's trapped in a household, tempers flare up. What are the kids going to see?”

In addition to everything else, Neal is missing her commute home from the office these days. It gave her time to process the trauma of what she had seen and heard. Now she comes straight home, feeling gutted. She hugs her children, thanks God that they're safe and that they were born to her. For a few hours she'll attend to their needs, and then, once they're asleep, Neal's mind returns to the others.

The ones she's seen. And the ones she hasn't.

ellen.mccarthy@washpost.com

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Roland Huget

ACROSS

1 Play divisions

5 Citrus coolers

9 Caroline, to Bobby Kennedy

14 Site of many a college party

15 Vatican leader

16 Garden trimming gadget

17 Singer ___ Amos

18 Stuffed shirt

19 Pastry with tea

20 Bach mini comic opera about a beverage addiction

23 Pillow filler

24 Anthem contraction

25 Modern car receivers

33 Letter-shaped plumbing trap

34 Shade tree

35 Layer on a stagnant pond

36 Opp. of 56-Down

37 Secretly

41 Denver-to-Chicago dir.

42 Beginning on

44 Hide-hair connector

45 German camera

47 He played the interviewer in “Interview With the Vampire”

51 Yellowfin tuna

52 Very often

53 Last parting, or what can literally be found in 20-, 25- and 47-Across

59 Liberty Bell flaw

60 Artificial bait

61 “The First ___”: holiday song

63 “Voices Carry” co-songwriter Mann

64 Perched on

65 Impulse

66 Models strike them

67 Acknowledges applause

68 Mexican bread?

DOWN

1 Back on board

2 Gator’s cousin

3 Poi source

4 React to an insult, maybe

5 Legal challenge

6 Scale starters

7 Grand-scale production

8 Genesis creator

9 Snapple rival

10 They’re often swiped at work

11 Entertainment awards acronym

12 Wrestler John

13 Prior to, in poems

21 Tosses in one’s cards

22 Expected outcomes

25 The “poison” type contains the skin irritant urushiol

26 Disconcert

27 Pavarotti, for one

28 Earth, to Cato

29 “Xanadu” rock gp.

30 Seal the deal

31 Prevention measure?

32 Makeup streak

38 “Open ___ 9 p.m.”: store sign

39 Avril Lavigne’s “Sk8er ___”

40 Give permission

43 Bride-to-be logo

46 Wiped out by excess costs, as profits

48 Burger joint drinks

49 Limited in scope

50 Grabs some shuteye

53 Cold, in Cádiz

54 Brand with a paw print in its logo

55 Love handles, so to speak

56 Works-by-itself setting

57 Old stories

58 Relay race segments

59 Spending limit

62 Sign of summer

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10/20/20

MONDAY’S LA TIMES SOLUTION

A	H	A		Q	U	A	G		P	A	T	H	S
N	I	L		U	H	U	R	A		A	B	E	A
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NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Aunt misbehaving on Broadway? Nope.

Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: Am I aunting badly? I'm in my early 60s, never married and child-free by choice. I am, however, blessed with a cluster of nieces, nephews and godchildren I adore — 13 in all. Over the decades I've stepped up when there were practical considerations — money for a special school, a place for a teenager to bunk for a couple of weeks while she sorted out that her parents weren't really monsters, that sort of thing — and I've always made it a priority to attend graduations, special dance recitals, sporting events and the like.

Taking the kids on fun getaways has long been my thing. It gives me one-on-one time with the particular kid, and both of us have a great adventure. Think trips to Spain and Greece, San Francisco and Jackson Hole, swimming with dolphins, a safari. I get to holidays in the general time frame and take the family out for dinner to mark the occasion. These are joyous times for me.

For a niece's 16th birthday recently [pre-covid], I flew her to meet me in New York City for Broadway shows, restaurants and shopping. Afterward, my sister-in-law was noticeably cool toward me. When I asked what the matter was, she snapped that it would be nice if, once in a while, I could be bothered to get her kids a present.

I am angry and shattered. I've always thought being present for them was the present! Since this happened, the kids still seem to want to spend time with me, but I can't shake the feeling that I've been a pest all these years, forcing myself on the kids when they'd rather have another . . . I don't even know. Hockey stick? Designer hoodie?

And I'm furious with my sister-in-law for being so shallow that she thinks something wrapped with a bow could ever compete with time and laughter and a wonderful experience. The kids call me “Mame,” and I have always taken it as a compliment, but now I wonder if it's a joke I'm not in on.

— Deflated

Deflated: Oh this breaks my heart.

I know there's probably a much longer, more thorough, more uplifting answer to be written, but I hope I can get the most accomplished with this: Your sister-in-law is a butt.

Her being one is not a reason to rethink your entire self.

You take these kids to Europe! I want to be your niece.

In fairness, maybe your sister-in-law was having the worst day ever and her filter slipped for just that one moment, just as she was overtaken by an overwhelming but fleeting impulse to be a butt.

Pardon me: to act like one.

In fact, I suggest you assume that's why it happened, and keep being yourself unimpeded, as best you can, by the self-doubt her outburst stirred up.

Re: Deflated: Speaking from unfortunate experience as the bad actor, perhaps your sister-in-law felt a momentary twang of jealousy that you're the cool, adventurous auntie. She may feel like the reliable but boring cook/therapist/maid/wage-earner who barely has the energy to think up the next meal, much less a grand adventure.

— Anonymous

Anonymous: Great and compassionate point. The I-did-this-bad-thing-myself perspective is, in my opinion, the rarest and most useful of all. And brave. Thanks.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/haxpost.

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What unites the nation today? Disdain for the Undecideds.

UNDECIDED FROM C1

“It’s like you just want to shake them. What’s wrong with you? Do you not see what’s happening here?” says Trish Collins, a 54-year-old nurse and Biden voter from Unionville, Conn. “The size of the rock that you have to be living under to not know what’s going on in this country right now. I mean, there are no rocks that big.”

Brandon Straka, a Trump supporter and founder of #WalkAway, a group aimed at getting Democrats to vote Trump, attributes undecided voters’ ambivalence to the mainstream media. “If people actually knew the truth, there would be no question,” he says.

Tim Michaels, 50, a consultant in Portland, Ore., blames it on stubbornness — particularly among Bernie Sanders supporters who refuse to commit to Biden. “They’re trying to pretend as though they’re deliberative rather than idiots,” Michaels says.

Eden Dranger is a 33-year-old television writer and Biden voter in Los Angeles. “I feel that undecided voters are out of touch with what is at stake,” she says. She recently tweeted: “If you ever feel stupid, just remember that there’s still undecided voters.”

Was it always this way?

Not necessarily. You might recall Ken Bone, a mustached man in a red Izod sweater. The undecided Bone appeared at a town hall debate between Trump and Hillary Clinton, asking a question about energy policy, and charmed viewers with his gentle, genial presence. He became an unlikely folk hero. People wrote him songs and dressed as him for Halloween. (One company put together a “Sexy Ken Bone” costume.) Bobby Moynihan played him on “Saturday Night Live.”

After Bone reemerged recently in a Newsweek article (undecided, once again!), Ryan Zaharako, a 42-year-old marketing copywriter and Biden supporter in Phoenix, tweeted that Bone and other undecideds are “a special kind of moron.” It got more than 11,000 likes. Zaharako told The Washington Post he feels a little bad about



JIM BOURG/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Genial, red-sweatered undecided voter Ken Bone got his 15 minutes of fame at a 2016 town hall debate in St. Louis when he asked Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump about their energy policies. It was a simpler time: In 2020, it would be 15 minutes of infamy.

the mean tweet, but given the life-or-death stakes he sees in this election for many people — especially people of color and immigrants — he thinks a harsh tone is justified.

Frank Luntz thinks undecided voters are just convenient scapegoats, especially for nervous liberals looking for someplace to put their overflowing vitriol toward the president. Luntz, a Republican political consultant, knows the Undecideds better than anyone. He runs focus groups with undecided voters, soliciting their reactions after presidential debates.

And, like a passenger on Sedaris’s proverbial plane, “All I get is s—,” he says.

From critics, that is, who think his panelists are full of it. Luntz thinks that’s an unfortunate sign

of the times.

“One of the problems in America is that we used to celebrate those who weigh all the issues, who weigh all the attributes, and make a careful and informed decision,” he says. Now, “we condemn them because they haven’t joined us in our declaration of who we support.”

Is that what the Undecideds have been doing? Carefully weighing the issues, all the way down to the wire? Greg Shugar, 47, of Boca Raton, Fla., says the undecided people he knows think of themselves as apolitical. They’re not waiting on answers to policy questions. “If you are curious about what’s going on,” Shugar says, “you are not undecided.”

As for the Undecideds he sees at the televised town halls, Shugar

doesn’t believe they’re actually undecided. And it’s true that some undecided voters are more decided than they let on. The conservative Washington Free Beacon reported last week that an audience of supposed Undecideds at an NBC town hall had previously declared support for Biden on MSNBC. And Luntz himself recently called out a member of his focus group who seemed heavily pro-Trump.

“I don’t believe that it’s possible that you could vote for Joe Biden, even though you said it in the screener,” Luntz told her during the Zoom session. “I’m going to challenge you right now. I don’t think you were honest in your application to come into this focus group. . . . You’ve got to be honest because it makes people like me look bad, and it makes the polling

profession look bad.”

According to the polling profession, undecided voters constitute 2 to 8 percent of the electorate this year, depending on who’s doing the polling. That’s much less than in 2016, when the Undecideds were 13 percent of the voting public by November.

So yes, they do exist. And some think Decideds should consider being a bit more diplomatic.

“The more attacking I feel from one side, it pushes me away from that candidate,” says Samantha Thomas, 32, of Cape May, N.J. “Sway me, and do it kindly. You catch more flies with honey.”

Kurt Malz, 61, says people “cannot believe that I’m undecided, and it pisses me off.” A boat salesman in Tampa, Malz voted for Trump in 2016 but has been turned off by his temperament

CRITIC’S NOTEBOOK

‘The Race’ wants voters to weigh in

BY PETER MARKS

“What’s keeping me sane is not winning debates,” Michael Rohd says. “It’s imagining futures.”

Which is why “The Race” is back. The brainchild of Phoenix-based Rohd and his Sojourn Theatre, this exercise in civic theater made its debut at Georgetown University a dozen years ago, on the eve of another catch-your-breath election. On Tuesday at 5 p.m., it opens its virtual doors for free through the auspices of Georgetown’s Laboratory for Global Performance and Politics for 90 minutes of scripted and spontaneous commentary with an online audience. Not to replicate what’s on cable news, but to help to define, through theater, what democracy means today.

“In 2008, the conversation of ‘The Race’ was about what a leader looks like,” says Derek Goldman, the lab’s co-director and chairman of performing arts at Georgetown. “Almost by definition this time, this moment is about the system, and who it serves.”

More than a decade ago, “The

Race” was in the vanguard of an effort by theater makers to engage audiences collaboratively in discourse on issues of the day. The practice has become far more prevalent: Witness the Broadway success of “What the Constitution Means to Me,” in which Heidi Schreck invites the audience to vote nightly on the results of a debate on the document between her and a teenage student. (It’s now on Amazon Prime, in a filmed version directed splendidly by Marielle Heller.)

“The Race” in 2008 — and in some iterations around the country in subsequent election cycles — gathered spectators in theaters to explore their views of participatory democracy, partly through improvisatory skits: One feature was “Presidential Speech Karaoke,” in which audience members volunteered to stand and read portions aloud of actual candidate speeches off teleprompters. Initially, the plan was to revive the in-person format for the new Georgetown version, but covid-19 scuttled that proposal, as it has hundreds of other live theater events.

The fallback is this online version, in which five actors from the original production, who were Georgetown undergraduates in 2008, plus eight current students, lead viewers through some dramatized playlets. It’s all in service of prompting civil dialogue. “This is an adaptive vision to sort of say, ‘What can we do that is meaningful in this moment to rekindle what made ‘The Race 2008’ exciting?’” Goldman says. Rohd adds: “The goal of the show is for people to be open to having a conversation about things they may disagree on publicly.”

Another element will incorporate remote contributions from six of the lab’s international theater fellows — from Vietnam, South Africa, Mexico and other places — to generate talk about a subject Americans rarely consider: how the rest of the world sees the race for the presidency. “I got to spend three hours talking with them,” Rohd says of the fellows, who will lead groups of the audience in virtual breakout-room discussions. “I asked: ‘As folks not living in the U.S., what do you wish we were thinking



JONATHAN ERNST FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Amelia Powell performs in the 2008 interactive play “The Race,” which is being reprised in time for the 2020 election.

about in this country?”

The experience of collectively contemplating the impact of an election can be moving, and agonizing, Rohd says. Four years ago, he staged an eight-hour election-night version of “The Race” at Arizona State University, where he teaches civic practice and theater. Bulletins from CNN appeared on a jumbotron, and the participants watched as the early indications of a victory by Hillary Clinton shifted to

ever-clearer signs of Donald Trump’s win. For Clinton partisans, Rohd recalls, the event took on a searing, stunning sense of what in a democracy could go wrong.

On this occasion, Goldman observes, the tenor of the conversation is apt to be wildly different from it was in 2008, when the country was on the verge of selecting its first Black president. The mood was predominantly one of hope back then; this time,

it would be fair to assume that those who enter “The Race” will be in a far more worried state about the fate of American democracy. (Some 130 theatergoers will have the ability in the Zoom webinar format to participate directly in the discussions; all others signing up will be able to simply watch.)

The means by which voters communicate have changed a lot since 2008, certainly in terms of the prevalence and power of social media. Rohd argues, though, that platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have not supplanted theater as the most dynamic method of sharing stories and expanding minds. “I think you’d be hard pressed to find people who say they collaborate and imagine through social media,” Rohd says. “We don’t have enough civic spaces in this nation in this moment — and haven’t for a long time — where we can gather and imagine together.”

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The Race, presented by Sojourn Theater and Georgetown University’s Laboratory for Global Performance and Politics. Tuesday at 5 p.m. Admission is free. <https://bit.ly/2FGdf7Q>

White women’s tears of complicity

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

From colonialism to the election of Donald Trump, Hamad takes a closer look at how White women’s performance of victimhood keeps White male patriarchy in place. “It is true to say white women were subordinated in settler-colonial society,” Hamad writes. “It is not true to say they were bystanders to the colonial enterprise, and it is certainly not accurate to imply they were victims of comparable standing to the colonized populations.” The “protection” of White women has been the selling point for atrocities perpetrated by White men, from lynchings to refusing asylum seekers. As the literal bearers of White society, White women were tasked with ideal womanhood. Therefore, their protection, and the subsequent continuation of white supremacy, are part of the same equation. Hamad asserts that by “keeping this false image of impeccable white Womanhood alive, white masculinity was ab-

solved of its terrible crimes and black sexuality could be demonized and mythologized.”

Hamad, who lives in Australia, offers a global perspective as she deftly renders the reach of this “maternal colonialism.” White women’s “care” and commitment to Western notions of civility helmed the mass removal of Indigenous children from their communities in Australia and North America from 1880 to 1940. They lobbied for school segregation, eugenics and the creation of a women’s KKK chapter as active warriors for the continued institutionalization of White supremacy.

Hamad is concerned with how this imbalance of power affects feminism. She argues that the feminist movement can never be equal if the complexity of women of colors’ experiences are not acknowledged. She points out that Aboriginal women, who are 2 percent of the total Australian population, make up 34 percent of the female prison population. Native women in Canada have

alleged forced sterilization up until 2019. Hamad calls upon “feminists who prioritize the concerns of white, middle-class women as though they are representative of all women” to recognize their myopic view of womanhood. She claims that beyond clueless, this fallacy of a universal feminism is also toxic, citing writer Audre Lorde’s definition of tokenization: “an empty gesture designed to placate and even silence our demands for more equitable treatment.”

In both public and personal life, Hamad follows the progression from the White damsel in distress trope — a strategically wielded innocence — to the damsel in defense: that quick escalation of defensiveness when White domination is threatened. Obvious recent examples include Amy Cooper, who hysterically called the police on Black birdwatcher Christian Cooper, and “BBQ Becky,” a White woman in Oakland, Calif., who feigned tears after alerting authorities about a Black family



HENRY EVERINGHAM

“White Tears/Brown Scars” author Ruby Hamad.

allegedly grilling in an undesignated area.

Hamad points out that White women’s tears do not work when White men are the culprits. She points to the confirmation of Brett M. Kavanaugh to the U.S. Supreme Court as evidence. Despite Christine Blasey Ford’s tearful recollection of Kavanaugh’s alleged sexual assault, he was sworn in.

The referential nature of the collection is a testament to Hamad’s commitment to community. In some instances the book reads more like an oral history. Hamad’s conversations with scholars, journalists, humanitarian employees and other professional women of color about their experiences with White women’s defensiveness and gaslighting in personal and

professional settings punctuate the text. These accounts are weighted by data on the effects of racism on women of color, from Georgetown University research on racial perceptions to the Indian Law Resource Center’s findings on the rates of violence inflicted upon Native women.

“White Tears/Brown Scars” is a stunning and thorough look at White womanhood that should be required reading for anyone who claims to be an intersectional feminist. Hamad’s controlled urgency makes the book an illuminating and poignant read. Yet, she would balk at being called ahead of her time. Of forward-thinkers, Hamad writes, “It’s not merely that we are behind them, it’s that we all too often resent those bold thinkers for what they tell us about our society and ourselves.” Hamad is a purveyor of such bold thinking, the only question is, are we ready to listen?

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Rosa Boshier is a writer and artist whose work has appeared in Los Angeles Review of Books, the Guardian and Vice, among other publications.

TELEVISION

TV HIGHLIGHTS



Whose Vote Counts (PBS at 9) “Frontline” presents an investigation of voter registration laws that can ultimately determine any election’s outcome and explores how the pandemic is being used to sway turnout.

The Voice (NBC at 8) Coaches Kelly Clarkson, John Legend, Blake Shelton and Gwen Stefani all vie to discover and coach the next singing phenomenon on the second night of blind auditions.

Teen Mom 2 (MTV at 8) After an X-ray, Leah grapples with the possibility that Ali’s condition is progressing.

The Bachelorette (ABC at 8) Clare goes on the first one-on-one date of the season, and 10 of the men compete in a revealing game of dodgeball.

16 and Pregnant (MTV at 9) Maddie and her mom, Crystal, were best friends until Maddie met her boyfriend, Korey.

Little People, Big World (TLC at 9) Matt’s frustration grows as Amy continues to delay her move out of the farmhouse, but when the coronavirus hits, everything comes to a stop.

Transplant (NBC at 10) Bash wants to make things right with Amira after their lives are turned upside down again.

Tosh.0 (Comedy Central at 10) Daniel Tosh lampoons viral videos, blogs, websites and technologies.

Sweet Home Sextuplets (TLC at 10) Courtney’s parents can’t provide help during the day, and construction stops on the remodel

as the pandemic hits.

Chopped (Food at 10) The chefs get variations of fries and thighs in every basket.

The Misery Index (TBS at 10:30) The Tenderloins go full Italian as two contestants duke it out for \$30,000.

Kal Penn Approves This Message (Freeform at 10:30) Penn spends time discussing environmental policies with young Americans from across the political spectrum to see how age may be a greater dividing factor than political affiliation.

SPECIALS

The Boulet Brothers’ Dragula: Resurrection (Shudder) A Halloween-themed spinoff special of the horror-drag competition “Dragula.” Competitors from the first three seasons return to compete for a spot in Season 4 and a \$20,000 cash prize.

Whose Vote Counts (PBS at 10) “Frontline” presents an investigation of voter registration laws that can ultimately determine any election’s outcome and explores how the pandemic is being used to sway turnout.

RETURNING

Dead Silent (ID at 10) Season 4.

LATE NIGHT

BROADCAST CHANNELS										
10/20/20	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• News	• Hollywood	• The Voice				(10:01) • Transplant		News	• J. Fallon
4.2 WRC (IND)	The Munsters	The Munsters	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne			The Nanny	The Nanny
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	Fox 5	• Pregame	• 2020 World Series: Game 1: Teams TBA (Live)						Fox 5 News at 10	
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• Wheel	• J’pardy!	• The Bachelorette				(10:01) • Supermarket Sweep		News	• Kimmel
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	Q&A	• ET	• NCIS		• FBI		• The FBI Declassified		9 News	• Colbert
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	La Rosa de Guadalupe	• Médicos, línea de vida	• Imperio de mentiras				Dulce ambición		Noticias	Noticiero
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• Family Feud	• Family Feud	Fox 5 News	• FamFeud	Fox 5 News	Creek	Big Bang	Big Bang	• Chicago P.D.	
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	Farm-Harvest	Outdoors	• Finding Your Roots		• American Masters		• Frontline		• Amanpour-Co	
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• PBS NewsHour		Finding Your Roots		• American Masters		• Frontline		Amanpour-Co	
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	DW News	Chavis	America ReFramed		Youth Voices & Covid-19		Democracy Now!		World News	L. Flanders
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• black-ish	• black-ish	• Swamp Thing		• Tell Me a Story		• Seinfeld	• Seinfeld	Two Men	Two Men
66.1 WPXW (ION)	Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds	

CABLE CHANNELS										
A&E	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars	Storage Wars
AMC	(6:00) Movie: Halloween		Movie: Halloween 4: The Return of Michael Myers ★★				Movie: Psycho ★★★★★ (1960)			
Animal Planet	Ice Lake Rebels		Alaskan Bush People: Wild Life				Yukon Men		Yukon Men	
BET	(6:30) Movie: Boyz N the Hood ★★ (1991)				Movie: Meet the Browns ★★ (2008)					Martin
Bravo	Below Deck	Below Deck	Mediterranean	Don’t-Tardy	Don’t-Tardy	Tardy	Tardy	Watch	Chrisley	Chrisley
Cartoon Network	Craig	Victor	Gumball	Gumball	Burgers	Burgers	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Family Guy	
CNN	Erin Burnett OutFront		Anderson Cooper 360		Cuomo Prime Time		CNN Tonight		CNN Tonight	
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Tosh.0	Tosh.0	Tosh.0	Tosh.0	The Daily Show	
Discovery	Homestead Rescue	Homestead Rescue	Homestead Rescue		Building Off the Grid		(10:01) Building Off the Grid		(11:01) Building Off the Grid	
Disney	Raven	Raven	Villains	Bunk’d	Bunk’d	Raven	Raven	Raven	Sydney-Max	Sydney-Max
E!	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Bradshaw	Nightly
ESPN	Baseball Tonight (Live)		Heisman		To Be Announced					
ESPN2	NBA: The Jump		UFC 229: Khabib vs. McGregor						NFL Live	
Food Network	Chopped		Chopped		Chopped		Chopped		Chopped	
Fox News	The Story With Martha		Tucker Carlson Tonight		Hannity (Live)		The Ingraham Angle		Fox News at Night	
Freeform	(5:30) Movie: Ghostbusters		Movie: Ghostbusters II ★★ (1989)				Kal Penn		The 700 Club	
FX	(5:00) Movie: Logan ★★★★★		Movie: Venom ★★ (2018)				Movie: Venom		★★ (2018)	
Hallmark	You’re Bacon Me Crazy		Movie: A Valentine’s Match (2020)				Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Golden Girls
Hallmark M&M	Matchmaker Mysteries				Aurora Teagarden Mysteries				Murder, She Wrote	
HBO	The Third Day		(8:05) Movie: Grudge Match ★★ (2013)				REAL Sports Gumbel		Lovecraft Country	
HGTV	(6:30) Windy City Rehab		Windy City Rehab		Windy City Rehab		Hunters	Hunt Intl	Hunters	Hunters Int’l
History	America’s Book of Secrets: Special Edition				America’s Book of Secrets: Special Edition		Special Edition		America’s Book of Secrets	
Lifetime	Rizzoli & Isles		Rizzoli & Isles		Rizzoli & Isles		(10:03) Rizzoli & Isles		(11:03) Rizzoli & Isles	
MASN	Women’s College Volleyball		Women’s College Volleyball: North Carolina at NC State				Touchdown Baltimore		Football	Orioles Cla.
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)		All In With Chris Hayes		Rachel Maddow Show		The Last Word		The 11th Hour	
MTV	How to Lose		Teen Mom 2		16 and Pregnant		Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.
Nat’l Geographic	Life Below Zero		Life Below Zero				Life Below Zero		Life Below Zero	
NBC SportsNet WA	Football	106.7 The Fan’s Sports Junkies					Football	Inside N.D.	Notre Dame Football Replay	
Nickelodeon	Loud House	Loud House	SpongeBob	SpongeBob	Movie: Bee Movie ★★ (2007)				Friends	Friends
PARMT	Movie: Tombstone ★★★★★ (1993)						Movie: Tombstone ★★★★★ (1993)			
Syfy	(5:15) Sinister (7:45) Movie: Insidious: The Last Key ★★ (2018)						(10:08) Movie: It Follows ★★★★★ (2014)			
TBS	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Misery	Conan	Misery Index
TCM	(6:30) Love on the Run		Women Make Film		(9:15) Movie: Tomka and His Friends (1977)		(10:45) Women Make Film			
TLC	Sweet Home Sextuplets		Little People, Big World		Little People, Big World		Sweet Home Sextuplets		Sweet Home Sextuplets	
TNT	Bourne Su	Movie: The Bourne Ultimatum ★★★★★ (2007)					Movie: The Bourne Identity ★★★★★ (2002)			
Travel	The Dead Files		The Dead Files				The Dead Files		The Dead Files	
TruTV	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers
TV Land	Andy Griffith	Andy Griffith	Raymond	Everybody Loves Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King	King
TV One	Fam. Matters	Fam. Matters	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Good Times	Good Times
USA Network	Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Mod Fam	Mod Fam
VH1	Family-Preys	Movie: Coming to America ★★★★★ (1988)					Chappelle’s	Chappelle’s	Chappelle’s	Chappelle’s
WNCN	2020 Election		Govt. Matters	Ethical A.I.	Sports	ABC News	WJLA 24/7 News at 10		Paid Program	Ethical A.I.
WGN	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation	

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs • High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

Daily Show/Noah (Comedy Central at 11) The Daily Social Distancing Show.

Lous and the Yakuza.

Late Show/Colbert (CBS at 11:35) Dolly Parton, Ty Dolla \$ign.

Jimmy Kimmel Live (ABC at 11:35)

Michael Keaton, Blackpink.

Late Night/Meyers (NBC at 12:37) Adam Sandler, Jason Alexander, Todd Sucherman.

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

— Nina Zafar

How a Pepe the Frog movie speaks to a divisive moment in American politics

PEPE FROM CI

American politics.

First-time director Arthur Jones calls his movie a case study into what occurred optically during the 2016 election, told through the prism of “how a joke on 4chan became this larger story about how trolling moved off message boards and into mainstream Republican politics.” By October of that year, Donald Trump Jr. proudly posted to Instagram a “Deplorables” image featuring Pepe with Trumpian hair.

“Now, four years later, a joke that started on 4chan is moving into mainstream politics again, but it’s not about trolling — it’s about misinformation,” Jones said by Zoom from Los Angeles. “So this story might seem silly . . . but it’s actually something that still has a lot of cultural potency.”

Whether trained on an artist’s table or a president’s podium, “Feels Good Man” chronicles an ongoing war over who gets to define what a simple frog — or a simple fact — means, especially when modern existence can seem to flip rather ambiguously between digital worlds and real life.

The relevance of this film, says writer-producer Giorgio Angelini, is sparked by a current urgency: “We have to find ways to take back our consensus reality.”

The act of taking back is always central to the documentary’s narrative — whether it’s



when Furie sues over the use of Pepe’s image, or when young Hong Kong protesters adopt the character as a symbol of optimistic hope.

In one poignant scene, Furie is sitting at a table at Comic Con Copenhagen 2018, passively observing the Danish cosplayers, when a fellow cartoonist asks whether he is the creator of Pepe the Frog. When Furie says yes, the table-mate replies sympathetically: “It must suck for you that he has become hijacked by 4chan” message boards.

“It doesn’t really suck,” responds Furie, the soft timbre of

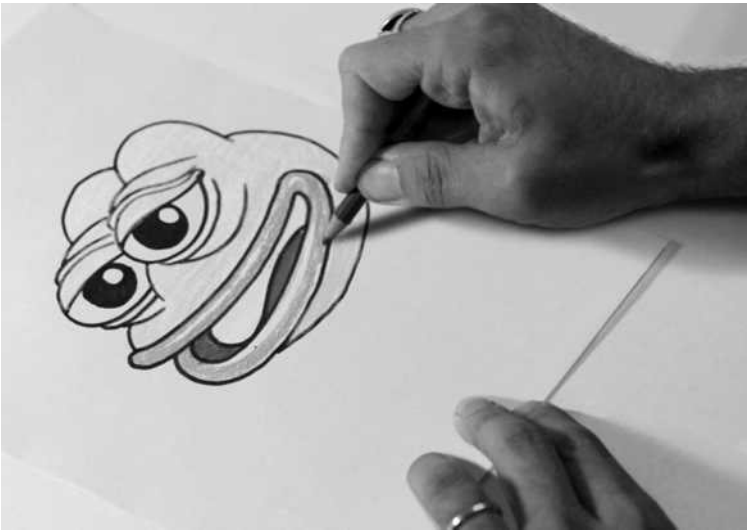
his voice seeming to search for a philosophical spin. “Nothing is forever.” And the cartoonist later says to the camera: “I’m just a spectator to how things can mutate and evolve on the Internet.”

As Furie evolves during the film’s journey, though, the one-time San Francisco cartoonist realizes his laid-back ethos about sharing art — influenced by how Jerry Garcia fans once traded mix tapes, Jones says — doesn’t address what battles he should consider fighting. Even a partial attempt at reclamation means lawyering up over copyright pro-

tection, and we see Furie travel to New York in his mission to get Pepe, saddled with fresh “Nazi frog” associations, removed from the Anti-Defamation League’s database of hate symbols.

Many cartoonists are observers by nature, though, so at times, the film’s imagery comes to the fore to effectively speak on the reticent Furie’s behalf. “He can’t reclaim Pepe,” Jones said, “but he can try to set the record straight” through “Feels Good Man” (the title being a reference to Pepe dialogue crucial to the launch of the meme).

“It’s been a relief to watch the



PHOTOS BY READY FICTIONS

California cartoonist Matt Furie, seen in the documentary “Feels Good Man,” created the globally known character Pepe the Frog. His creation was introduced in the Myspace-sprung slacker-life comic “Boy’s Club” but was later co-opted by the alt-right.

movie as if I was a spectator and not myself,” Furie told The Washington Post via email. “I can see more sides that way, and have a wider perspective and cultivate a deeper understanding of my situation and our shared cultural situation.” (The film’s interviewed experts include “BoJack Horseman” cartoonist Lisa Hanawalt and the Atlantic writer Adam Serwer.)

In the eyes of the filmmakers, Pepe is a stark reflection of our cultural situation, and as occult expert John Michael Greer says in the movie, the character is even a digital-culture omen to be

heeded.

The Internet “deliberately almost shamed us out of our ability to feel empathy and connectivity and turned us into these rabid connoisseurs of digital bites,” said Angelini (“My Friend Dahmer”), adding that the film is “this reaffirmation of reality” as “the digital world is now informing our real life.”

Furie, meanwhile, urges viewers to glean a central message: “Don’t believe everything that you think. We should question everything — even our own thoughts.”

michael.cavna@washpost.com

the

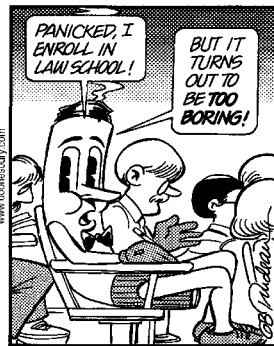
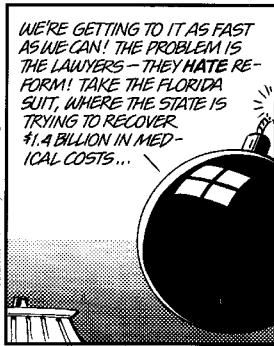
GUIDE

to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
WORKSHOPS & CLASSES					
 Tai Chi Center TaiChiCenter.com	Tai Chi / Qi Gong Classes Online	Five week term begins the week of October 25, 2020.	Beginner, Intermediate, Refinements, Qi Gong. Up to 20 classes available.	Register Now! www.TaiChiCenter.com 703-759-9141	\$99, 5 weeks, up to 20 classes
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CLASSIC DOONESBURY



PICKLES



BRIAN CRANE

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE

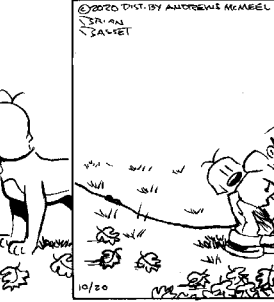
NORTH (D)	
♠ A Q 4 3	
♥ Q 9 8 2	
♦ K 6 3	
♣ A 7	
WEST	
♠ K J 10 9 6 5 2	
♥ 4	
♦ J 10 9 7	
♣ 5	
EAST	
♠ 8 7	
♥ 7 6 5	
♦ 8 5 4 2	
♣ K Q 6 3	
SOUTH	
♠ None	
♥ A K J 10 3	
♦ A Q	
♣ J 10 9 8 4 2	

The bidding:

NORTH	EAST	SOUTH	WEST
1 NT	Pass	3 ♥	3 ♠
4 ♥	Pass	6 ♥	All Pass

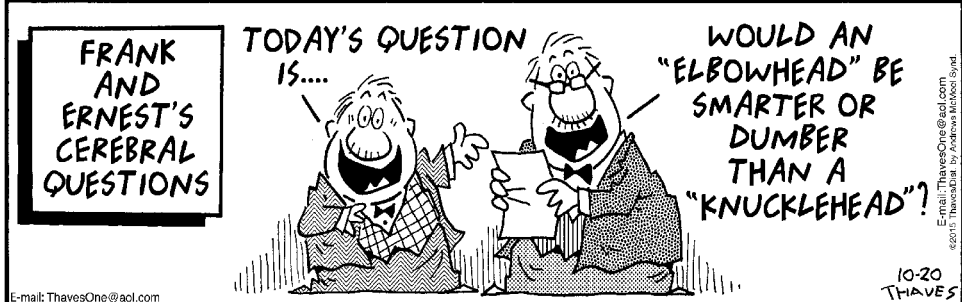
Opening lead — ♦ J

RED AND ROVER



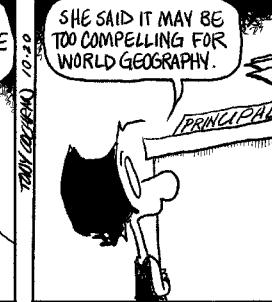
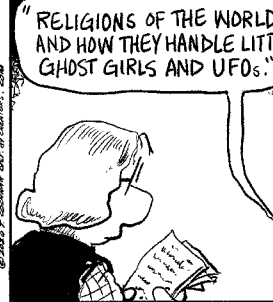
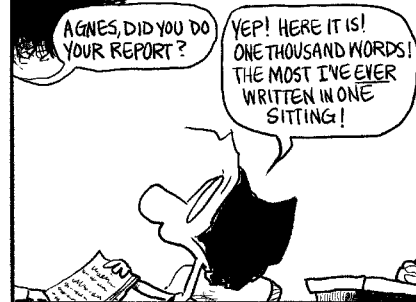
BRIAN BASSETT

FRANK AND ERNEST



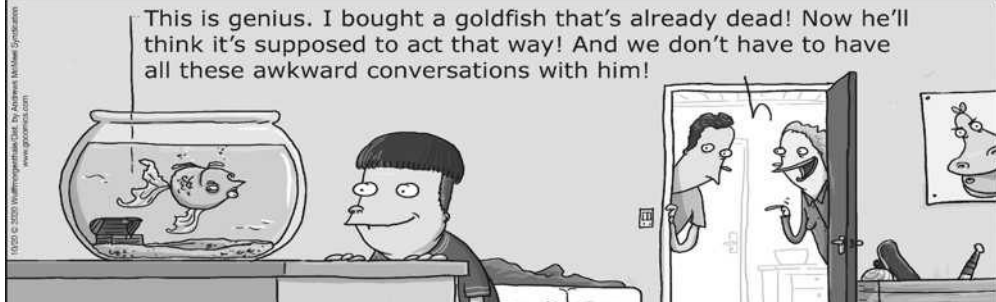
TOM THAVES

AGNES



TONY COCHRAN

WUMO



MIKAEL WULFF & ANDERS MORGENTHALE

When the owner of a movie theater died, his obituary stated that his funeral would begin at 2:10, 4:20, 6:30, 8:40 and 10:50.

There is a time for everything, but some players think the time for drawing trumps is always immediately. At today's slam, South took the ace of diamonds ... and promptly drew three rounds of trumps. He next led the ace and a low club.

East won and led another diamond, and South took the queen and ruffed a club with dummy's last trump. He threw two more clubs on the ace of spades and king of diamonds but still had one club left. East got his king for down one.

It's hard to wait until the movie starts to eat your popcorn, and it can be hard to wait to draw trumps. South must take the ace of clubs at Trick Two, then concede a club. If East wins and returns a trump, South can win, ruff a club in dummy, lead a trump to his hand and ruff a club.

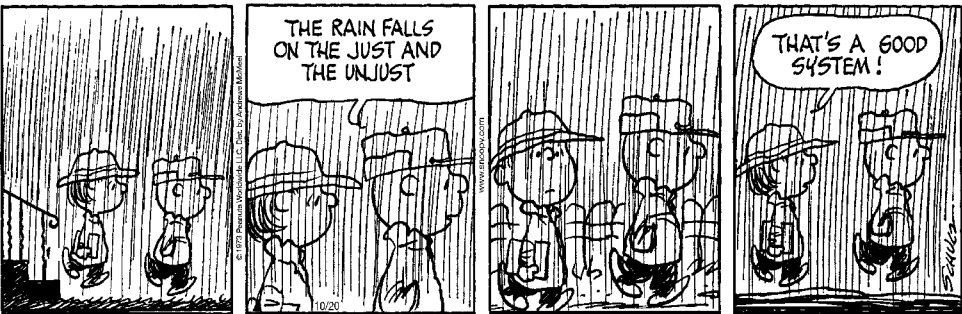
Declarer can then reach his hand with a spade ruff, draw the missing trump and take the rest.

DAILY QUESTION
You hold:
♠ None ♥ A K J 10 3
♦ A Q ♣ J 10 9 8 4 2
You are the dealer. What is your opening bid?

ANSWER: A reasonable plan is to open one club. If partner responds one diamond, you bid one heart, then bid hearts again to suggest five hearts plus longer clubs. But if partner responded one spade or 1NT, you would need to bid two hearts: a "reverse" for which most players would prefer more high-card strength. Personally, I would open one heart.

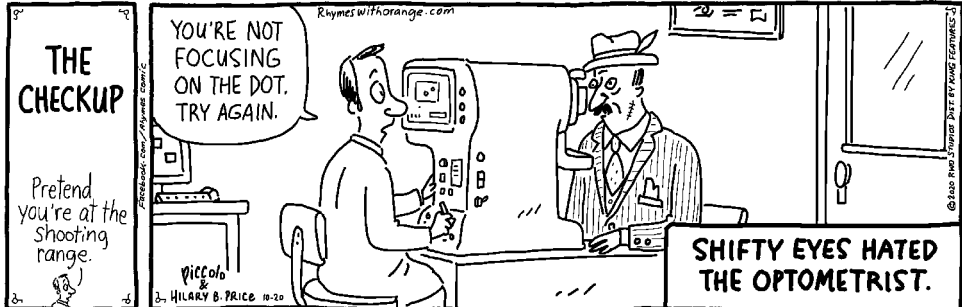
— Frank Stewart
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CLASSIC PEANUTS



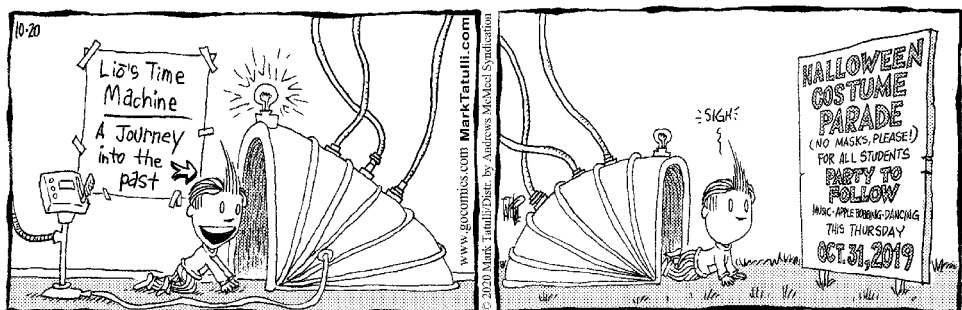
CHARLES SCHULZ

RHYMES WITH ORANGE



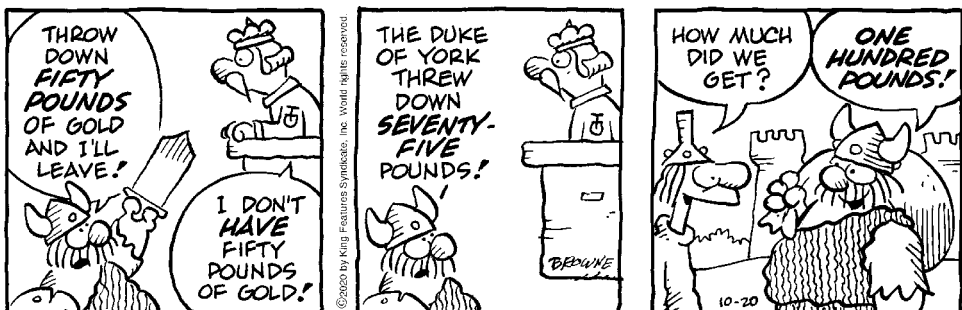
HILARY PRICE

LIO



MARK TATULLI

HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



CHRIS BROWNE

BLONDIE



DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL

MIKE DU JOUR



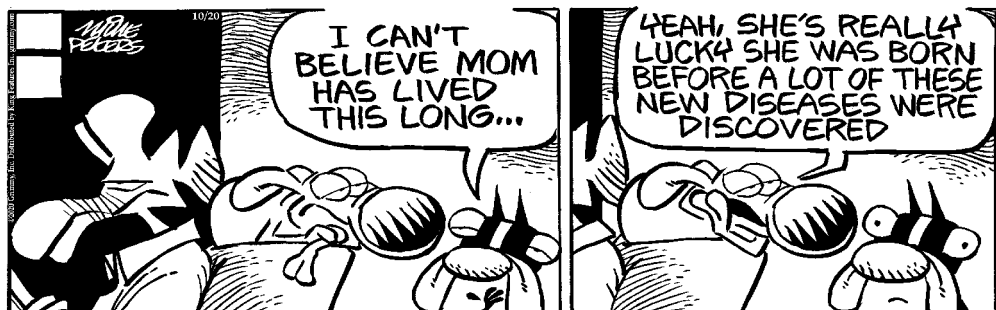
MIKE LESTER

MARK TRAIL



JULES RIVERA

MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



MIKE PETERS

BALDO



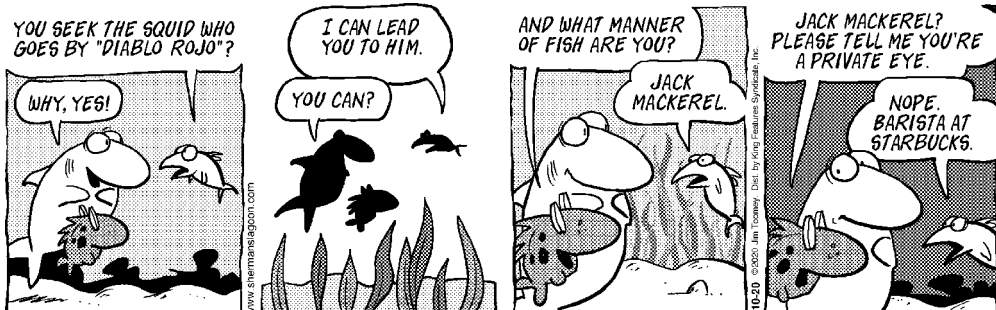
HECTOR CANTU & CARLOS CASTELLANOS

SALLY FORTH



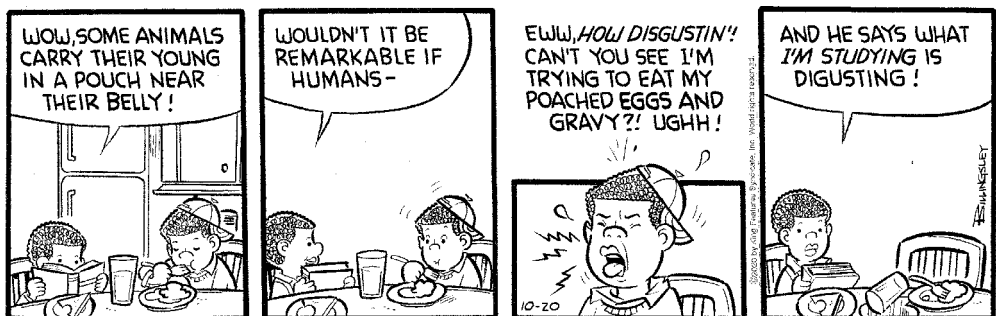
FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

SHERMAN'S LAGOON



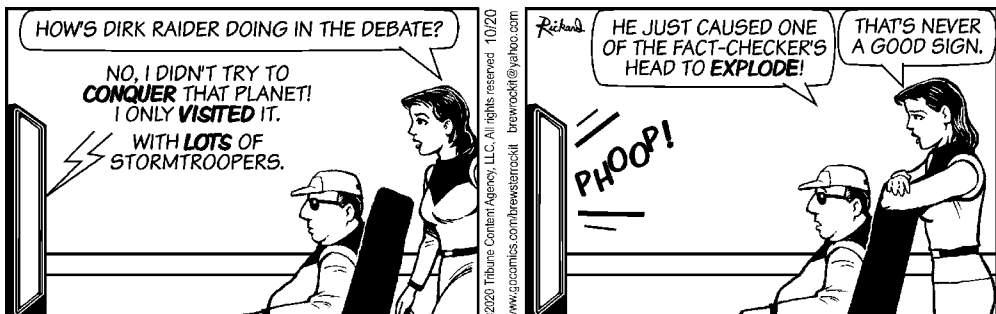
JIM TOOMEY

CURTIS



RAY BILLINGSLEY

BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



TIM RICKARD

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

			6	5	2	3		
5	9	6		7			1	
		7			1			
	5				9			6
3		2		1		8		9
1			5				4	
			1			9		
	8			9		6	3	1
		1	3	6	4			

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★ ★ ☆ ☆ ☆

1								

- ACROSS**
- Parched, infertile
 - Score, rank
 - Unskilled
 - Tender
- DOWN**
- Go away
 - Understand
 - Feature, aspect
 - Chin beard

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SCRABBLE G R A M S

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A1	E1	Y4	R1	D2	D2	B3
E1	O1	U1	U1	S1	G2	H4
I1	O1	N1	N1	W4	G2	R1
A1	E1	O1	F4	B3	R1	X8

PAR SCORE 155-165
BEST SCORE 223

FOUR RACK TOTAL
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

DIRECTIONS: Make a 2- to 7-letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. Finally, 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. "Blanks" used as any letter have no point value. All the words are in the Official SCRABBLE® Players Dictionary, 5th Edition. **SOLUTION TOMORROW**

For more information on tournaments and clubs, email NASPA - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scragsms@gmail.com

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS by David L. Hoyt

How to play
Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

ANSWER
RABENR
AREGD
PETIN
ENGETL

ANSWER
ABNEEG
AIEZLR
LENTEME
GEOATE

BONUS
CLUE: The _____ brand was purchased by the Quaker Oats Company in 1983.

ANSWERS: 1A-Barron 5A-Grande 6A-Insp 7A-Gentle 1D-Begone 2D-Realize 3D-Element 4D-Quaker 5D-Grande

Send comments to TCA - 160 N. Stetson, Chicago, Illinois 60601 or DLHoyt@HoytInteractiveMedia.com

MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | OCTOBER 20

Influential, enthusiastic and rational, you are funded after mid-year to pursue a private project that is very successful. You experience joy as you go at it one hundred percent. Finances are very good in the rest of your life too. If single, learning to compromise is the key to finding a happy relationship. If attached, your relationship is nurturing and fun. Aries thinks you're too hard-headed and stubborn at times.

ARIES (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Today shows wider mental horizons developing. You might grow bored with old concepts and long to learn something new. It's also a good cycle for the pursuit of a favorite study and developing deeper insight into your own nature.

DILBERT

SCOTT ADAMS

JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

FRAZZ

JEFF MALLET

CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL

GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK

DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

STAN LEE & ALEX SAVIUK

PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS

LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK

NON SEQUITUR

WILEY

BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE

ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK

BEEBLE BAILEY

MORT, BRIAN & GREG WALKER

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

4	9	7	8	2	1	6	5	3
6	3	8	5	9	4	1	7	2
5	2	1	7	6	3	9	8	4
2	1	4	3	7	8	5	9	6
3	8	6	1	5	9	4	2	7
9	7	5	2	4	6	3	1	8
1	5	3	4	8	2	7	6	9
8	4	9	6	1	7	2	3	5
7	6	2	9	3	5	8	4	1

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

F	A	R	A	D	A	Y
V	A	C	A	N	T	I
H	O	O	P	L	A	S
H	O	S	P	I	C	E

PAR SCORE 150-160 TOTAL 217

SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY

DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM

FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE

REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS

More online: washingtonpost.com/comics. Feedback: 1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C., 20071; comics@washpost.com; 202-334-4775.

KIDSPOST

ELECTION 2020

CORONAVIRUS

Vaccine plans

Biden: Fast-track the production of a vaccine. Produce details before taking office on which government agency would be in charge of distributing a vaccine or vaccines, which groups of people would receive a vaccine first and when that would happen.

Trump: Develop a vaccine by the end of this year. He has asked state and local health departments to figure out how to distribute a vaccine, should one be approved, as early as October.

Face masks

Biden: Push governors to require wearing face masks in public. Possibly enact mandatory face-mask wearing on U.S. government property.

Trump: Leave mask-wearing regulation to the states.

Virus testing

Biden: Provide free testing for “every person who needs a test.” Set up at least 10 mobile testing sites and drive-through facilities per state.

Trump: Although the president said this summer increased testing was making the United States “look bad,” he announced September 28 that 100 million rapid tests would be distributed to states over the next several weeks.

EDUCATION

Back to in-person schooling

Biden: Let school districts make decisions on when students can return.

Trump: Urged all schools to open in the fall for in-person learning.

Free college

Biden: Make public four-year colleges and universities tuition-free for all families with incomes less than \$125,000.

Make two years of community college or other professional training program free. The federal government would pay 75 percent, and the states would pay 25 percent of this program.

Biden has not estimated the cost of these programs or provided details on how his administration would pay for them. A recent Georgetown University study said the program would cost nearly \$50 billion a year but after about 10 years would start paying for itself because more college graduates would get high-paying jobs that bring in more tax dollars to the government.

Trump: Does not support free community college or four-year colleges.

School choice

Biden: Does not support giving families government money to attend private or religious schools from kindergarten through 12th grade.

Trump: Make school choice available to all children. Most school-choice programs are controlled by states, but the United States government pays for the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program. That program allows low-income families in Washington to attend private schools with federal government money. In July, Trump announced adding \$85 million in the next five years to the program.

Other priorities

Biden: Spend \$8 billion to improve facilities and programs at community colleges.

Spend three times the current level of spending on Title I, a program that helps elementary and secondary (K-12) schools with large numbers of low-income students.

Add more counselors and social workers to K-12 schools.

Trump: Teach “American Exceptionalism,” or pro-America lessons, in schools. States determine the curriculum in their schools, but Trump has created a commission to explore the idea of making United States history lessons less about the legacy of slavery and racism.



CHIP SAYS

In 1870, the first four Black Americans to serve in the United States House of Representatives were elected. That year, Black Republicans won three out of four South Carolina congressional seats.



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

What Biden and Trump say about issues important to kids

BY CHRISTINA BARRON

Choosing a presidential candidate to support is usually about figuring out which one has views closest to your own on issues that you think are important. That involves doing research: visiting campaign websites, listening to speeches or debates, and reading sources not connected to the campaigns, such as media sources with good reputations and voter information websites. We have gathered some of that information on the two major-party candidates: former vice president Joe Biden (Democratic Party) and President Donald Trump (Republican Party). We picked four areas that affect kids and that kids have spoken out about, but we’re only scratching the surface. We encourage you to dig deeper on these and any other issues you think are important. That way you can see over the next four years if the winning candidate keeps his campaign promises.



DAVID GOLDMAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS



ROBB HILL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



TAIMY ALVAREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TOP PHOTO: Protesters march for racial justice in Washington. President Trump endorses tax-relief zones in poor areas, while Joe Biden favors financially aiding small businesses owned by Black people.

ABOVE: Arctic ice caps are losing large chunks of ice — as seen in 2017 in Canada — because of climate change. Biden favors “clean” energy to slow Earth’s warming, while Trump wants to keep producing fossil fuels.

UPPER LEFT: Cooper Lane Elementary School’s Mary Piccirilli teaches online from her classroom in Maryland. Biden and Trump have different opinions on how or when schools should start in-person learning.

LEFT: Lab technician Sindy Puerto processes a blood sample for a coronavirus vaccine study in Florida. Both Trump and Biden want to fast-track production of a vaccine, but they endorse different ways to do it.

ENVIRONMENT

Carbon emissions

Biden: Reach net-zero greenhouse gas emissions no later than 2050 by reducing methane production, creating more energy-efficient government buildings, pushing the auto industry to produce electric vehicles, making companies disclose levels of greenhouse gas emissions and conserving 30 percent of public lands and waters by 2030.

Rejoin the Paris Climate Accord, the international effort to slow climate change.

Trump: No plan for carbon emission reduction. In March, he backed off President Barack Obama’s plan to make cars and trucks 5 percent more energy efficient each year from 2021 to 2026. That requirement is now 1.5 percent each year. (Greenhouse gas emissions from transportation make up about 28 percent of total U.S. greenhouse gas emissions, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.)

Renewable energy

Biden: Create a 100 percent renewable (or “clean”) energy economy by investing \$1.7 trillion in the next 10 years. Some of that money would go to creating 10 million jobs related to harnessing the power sources, such as sun, wind, waves, rain, tides and geothermal heat.

Trump: Support all energy sources, including nonrenewable (fossil fuels) and renewable sources. Trump has been skeptical about the benefits of spending money on clean energy and wants to protect or expand jobs connected to fossil fuels, such as oil, coal and natural gas. He plans to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling in 2021.

RACIAL JUSTICE

Economic opportunities

Biden: Make sure that all small-business relief efforts are designed to help businesses owned by Black and Brown people.

Spend more on technology and innovation centers, especially those serving Black, Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander and Native American entrepreneurs, or people who start businesses.

Increase funding for organizations that help people of color access high-quality training and job opportunities.

Make tuition free at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU) and minority serving institutions (MSI) for families with incomes below \$125,000.

Invest \$70 billion in programs and facilities at HBCUs and MSIs.

Trump: Expand “Opportunity Zones” in low-income areas. These zones, which were created in 2017, allow people to save on their tax bill by investing money to construct buildings in these areas. The development is supposed to improve the living conditions of residents, but critics say it can also cause them to leave because housing becomes too expensive.

kidspost@washpost.com



Deadline approaches for kids-only election

There’s not much time left to cast your ballot in the 2020 U.S. presidential election. No, not the official election. KidsPost is counting votes in a kids-only election for our readers to share their opinions about who should be the next president.

Here are the voting rules:

- Voters must be ages 7 to 14 and live in the United States or be a U.S. citizen living outside the United States.
- One vote per person. Teachers or parents can include more than one child in a submission.
- Voting must be done online at wapo.st/kidspost-election.
- A teacher or parent must fill out the form with you and provide their name and contact information. (No kids’ names collected; no adult information shared.)
- Voting ends October 28.

We look forward to sharing the kids’ winner on Election Day. Send questions to kidspost@washpost.com.

— Christina Barron

To Rivera, gutsy call backed goal to win now

Washington coach says success this season is the team's top priority

BY NICKI JHABVALA

Washington Football Team Coach Ron Rivera, whose reputation for making bold calls earned him the nickname "Riverboat Ron," has learned not to second-guess his instincts, even when things don't work out the way he had hoped. A day after his decision to have his team go for a two-point conversion in the final minute led to a one-point loss to the New York Giants, he said he wasn't surprised that some people were critical of his choice.

"If we had succeeded on it, it would've been a great decision on my part," he said with a grin during a video conference call with reporters Monday. "But we didn't, so some people think it's not a good decision."

But the move to play for the win comes on the heels of some other bigger-picture decisions by Rivera — from prioritizing players' health in early games over maximizing the team's chances for pulling off comeback victories, to benching quarterback Dwayne Haskins for Kyle Allen in the stated hope of competing for a title in the lackluster NFC East — that have created some questions among fans about Rivera's priorities.

Is winning now the focus, or is he more concerned with developing a team that, at 1-5 and in last place, lacks veteran experience and overall talent at some key positions? What's the goal for this season?

"Win as many games as we can," Rivera said. "That's the first thing. And then the second thing is that these guys can step away and say: 'Wow, this is the culture that we're going to have. This is how we're going to have to do things. This is

SEE WASHINGTON ON D2

Hindsight is 20/20

An expert crunches the numbers on Ron Rivera's toughest calls. **D2 Dallas at Washington** Sunday, 1 p.m., Fox

Brady's Bucs right in tune with Tampa's time to shine



Jerry Brewer

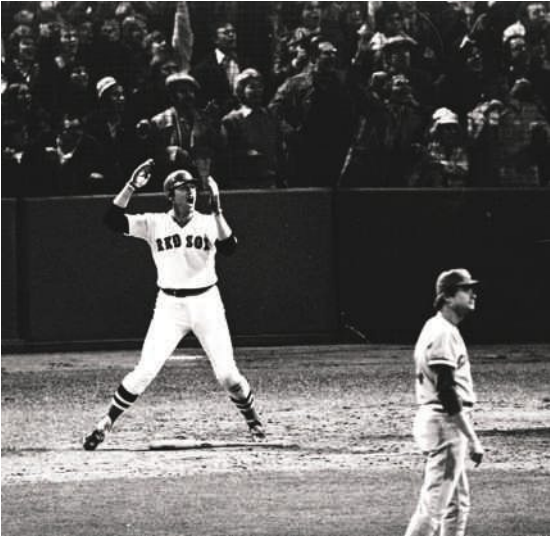
redefining joy. Tampa is flourishing.

The Tampa Bay Lightning won the Stanley Cup. The Tampa Bay Rays, based in nearby St. Petersburg, are headed to the World Series. And, oh yeah, there's this other little delight: The Tampa Bay Buccaneers are gradually transforming into a team worthy of Tom Brady's lingering greatness. Tompa Bay, though cheesy, is becoming a hypnotic thing.

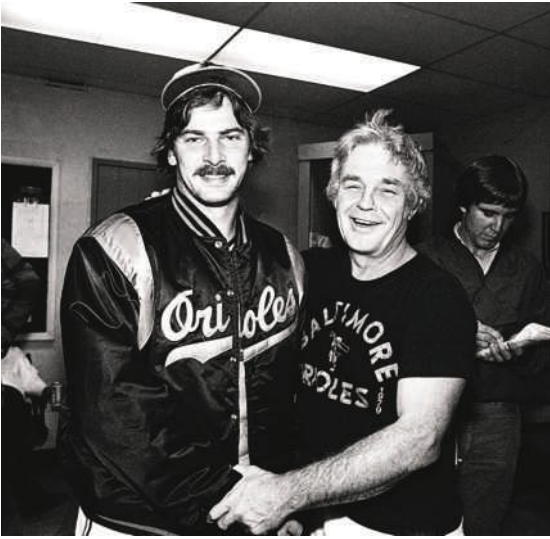
Usually, this much success in a short period would inspire jealousy, but it's hard for eyes to turn green when looking at a city forced to celebration in isolation. The Lightning made the best of it and enjoyed a fun boat parade down the Hillsborough River, but the city didn't get the customary burst of euphoria after capturing its first Stanley Cup championship in 16 years. The Rays are a fun World Series representative, but once again, Tampa won't get the full dose of

SEE BREWER ON D3

1975: Carlton Fisk watches his home run



1979: Earl Weaver clasps Mike Flanagan



1982: Brewers owner Bud Selig paces



2001: The Yankees swarm Alfonso Soriano



2002: Scott Spiezio and the Angels rejoice



2017: The Astros' Alex Bregman takes a bow



TOP, FROM LEFT: HARRY CABLUCK/ASSOCIATED PRESS, AP, AP; ABOVE, FROM LEFT: TIMOTHY A. CLARY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES, JED JACOBSON/GETTY IMAGES, DAVID J. PHILLIP/AP

All good things come to an end

The World Series has framed my life since 1975. Amid the pandemic, I'll sit this one out.



Thomas Boswell

Since 1975, I've covered every World Series game for The Washington Post. My streak will end Tuesday at 252 games. Including travel days, I've spent more than a year covering the World Series.

Last month, I decided not to go to this World Series, because I don't think it's smart for a 72-year-old man in a pandemic. But I still hated making that call.

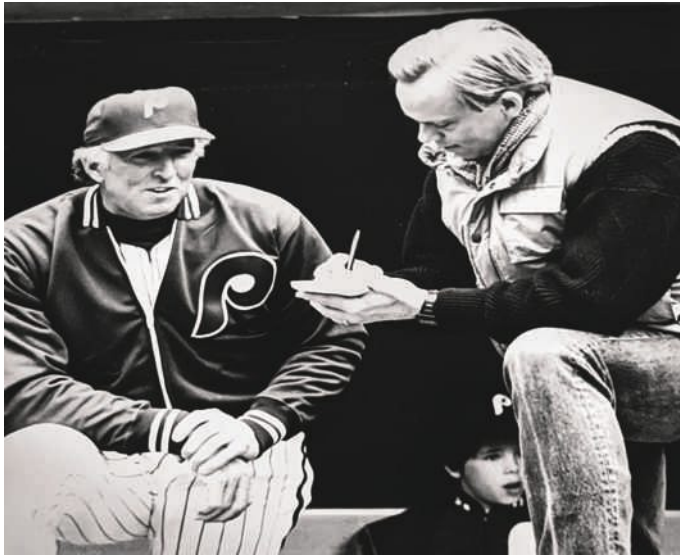
No matter the reason, I'll miss the marvelous misery of covering the World Series this year.

And, believe me, it's both marvelous and miserable. Every MLB writer comes home from the World Series feeling like Lawrence of Arabia staggering out of the desert.

Last October, I went from D.C. to Los Angeles to D.C. to L.A. to

World Series

Game 1: Rays vs. Dodgers | Today, 8:09 p.m., Fox



Thomas Boswell, interviewing Phillies pitching coach Claude Osteen in the 1980s, has covered 44 straight World Series.

St. Louis to D.C. to Houston to D.C. I wrote 21 columns and an introductory chapter to The Washington Post's book on Washington winning its first World Series in 95 years, and I conducted five Monday chats with readers. About 50,000 words. Then I covered a parade!

Another 15,000 words died along the trail, never published. Late-inning Nationals comebacks made them obsolete. Rip up, start again — and glad to do so.

On many hard nights, you return to your hotel room between 2 and 4 a.m., often after writing multiple versions of your story, including one for the print paper filed at last pitch and a final version after you've had time to interview and rewrite.

If the game goes insane in the late innings, you may not remember how many variations

SEE BOSWELL ON D4

After Boston said goodbye, Betts has fared well

It's obvious why L.A. loves its star right fielder. It's a mystery why the Red Sox dealt him.

BY DAVE SHEININ

ARLINGTON, TEX. — Someone once traded away Mookie Betts.

After the sense of awe dissipates following another spectacular play by the Los Angeles Dodgers' superstar right fielder, after the slow-motion replays confirm Betts's singular brilliance, after the thought is given to how outrageously fortunate the Dodgers are to have Betts in the fold as they make their march through the postseason to this week's World Series — after all that is dealt with and put aside, the mind inevitably returns to the same stunning, inconceivable realization:

Someone once had Mookie Betts on their team — and decided they would be better off with some other players instead.



TOM PENNINGTON/GETTY IMAGES

Mookie Betts is in the World Series for the second time in three years. In 2018, he beat the Dodgers while with Boston.

Inside: Randy Arozarena is a fitting hero for the no-name Rays. **D4**

That someone, of course, is the Boston Red Sox, whom Betts, the 2018 American League MVP, helped lead to the World Series title that fall — beating, of course, the Dodgers. It is now clear, if it wasn't at the time, that the trade eight months ago that sent Betts to the Dodgers along with pitcher David Price for a trio of younger players is the most consequential in recent baseball history — this generation's version of Frank Robinson for Milt Pappas.

"We would have beat the Red Sox" in 2018, Dodgers Manager Dave Roberts said Sunday night, in the aftermath of their Game 7 victory over the Atlanta Braves, "if we'd had Mookie Betts."

While the Red Sox have collapsed in on themselves — going from a championship in 2018 to a

SEE DODGERS ON D5

PRO FOOTBALL

The Chiefs bounce back with a victory over the Bills, while the Cowboys look lost against the Cardinals. **D3**

BASEBALL

The Nationals hire Jim Hickey, who has a long history with Dave Martinez, to be their next pitching coach. **D4**

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Virginia's quarterback situation remains in flux with Brennan Armstrong still in the concussion protocol. **D6**

ANALYSIS

The numbers behind Rivera’s in-game decisions

Here is what an analytics company says Washington’s coach should have done in four key situations during the loss to the Giants

BY SAM FORTIER

The enduring lesson from the Washington Football Team’s loss to the New York Giants on Sunday isn’t about one player or situation. It isn’t about the NFC East standings or jockeying for draft position. It isn’t even really, deep down, about the decision to go for two.

The game shed light on Coach Ron Rivera’s thought process in crunchtime. This was rare. The team’s struggle to remain competitive this season has limited chances to see the true, three-dimensional nature of “Riverboat Ron,” a misleading nickname for a selectively aggressive coach.

With Carolina, from 2011 to 2019, Rivera went for it on fourth down less than the NFL average. Yet when he went for it in score-neutral situations, he converted 78 percent of the time, the second-best rate in the league. In other words, Rivera picked his spots.

In the 20-19 loss to the Giants, Rivera made four important decisions that illustrate this broader philosophy.

Situation: Fourth and one at the New York 48-yard line, 11:58 left in the first quarter. No score.

Rivera’s decision: Go for it.

Though Rivera didn’t address this decision after the game, he has often expressed confidence in his short-yardage unit. It almost always features running back Peyton Barber, whom the coach has called “a hammer,” and the gambles have mostly worked. Washington has attempted 10 fourth-down conversions this season, the second most in the NFL, and has converted seven of them.

In this case, the decision aligned with numbers from EdjSports, an analytical company that consults with NFL teams. Historically, teams facing fourth and one near midfield have converted about 70 percent of the time, and in a simulation of this specific game, the odds were similar. EdjSports uses predictive models to help teams anticipate in-game decisions, and any fourth down is particularly important because they have an outsized influence on win probability.

EdjSports “stress-tests” each situation. For example, co-founder Frank Frigo said, even if Wash-



TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Ron Rivera’s decision-making process in pivotal situations was on full display during Sunday’s defeat.

ington were the NFL’s worst rushing team and the Giants had its best rushing defense, the model would still advise to go for it.

“We’re on board with [this call],” Frigo said. “That one’s pretty clear.”

On the field, Barber plowed up the middle and converted. This gave Washington a 3 percent boost in “game-winning chance,” an EdjSports metric.

Situation: Fourth and four at the New York 40-yard line, 1:20 left in the second quarter. Washington trails 13-3.

Rivera’s decision: Go for it.

This was perhaps the second-most controversial decision Rivera made, behind only the final two-point conversion attempt. It was originally fourth and nine and Washington punted, but then the Giants incurred a running-into-the-kicker penalty, and Rivera accepted to make it fourth and four. Then he decided to go for it.

“We were capable of moving the ball,” he explained. “I just felt

that we had to score a touchdown to put ourselves in position to be competitive in the second half.”

In the model, the decision was a wash. The difference between his options were within fractions of a percent. In the charts EdjSports builds for NFL coaches, they color-code game situations for quick reference; green is go, red is don’t go and yellow is at the coach’s discretion. This decision was yellow.

“We always tell them we don’t want to be robots telling them what to do,” Frigo said.

Players said Rivera had told them repeatedly during the trip to New Jersey that they were going there to win. This might seem like the usual coach-speak, but for a struggling team, Rivera sees the message of wanting to win as integral to the culture change he has preached.

When Kyle Allen found wide receiver Dontrelle Inman for the first down, Washington gained 7.3 percent in game-winning

chance — even before it went on to score a touchdown just before halftime.

Situation: Fourth and four at the New York 10-yard line, 8:59 left in the fourth quarter. Washington trails 13-10.

Rivera’s decision: Kick a field goal to tie it.

This decision was another yellow. If Rivera had gone for it, he could have increased his expected game-winning chance, but he also would have assumed more risk. He went for it in a similar situation in Week 1 against the Philadelphia Eagles, but this time, considering other factors — the longer distance, the road venue — he played it safe.

Yet the kick wasn’t a guarantee. Dustin Hopkins had missed his first attempt of the afternoon, a 47-yarder, wide right. But Rivera trusted Hopkins, who made the 28-yarder, and bet his offense could go ahead on another drive.

Situation: Extra-point or two-point conversion attempt, 36 sec-

onds left in the fourth quarter. Washington trails 20-19.

Rivera’s decision: Go for two.

This was Rivera’s most controversial move. But he and his players saw going for it as the only logical choice. Tight end Logan Thomas told his teammates before their final drive that they would go for it after they scored a touchdown, and later, in the locker room, Rivera reiterated that this assertiveness was part of his “philosophy.”

“The only way to learn to win is to play to win, and that’s what I want those guys to understand,” he said. “We have to do certain things to win football games, and if taking a gamble is part of it, that’s what I’m doing.”

This time, the model recommended kicking the extra point. Frigo is wary of leaning too heavy on the numbers late in games — this is where the model has the most uncertainty — but he still thought this call “was pretty clear.” Washington would have had a 39 percent game-winning chance if it kicked off in a tie game or 62 percent if it did so leading by one — both percentages lower than expected because the Giants had two timeouts and the chance to drive for a winning score — and the model suggested Washington would need to be a little more than 60 percent confident it could convert the two-point conversion to justify going for it. That is considerably higher than the historical two-point conversion rate of 48 percent.

Frigo added, though, that he believed Rivera’s decision was “not a huge error.” He said few coaches truly follow analytics, that their guts sometimes make statistically optimal decisions and get “it right for the wrong reasons.”

In the end, Frigo understood Rivera’s rationale. The coach said he went for it because he believes overtime favors the home team and because he’s trying to build something unquantifiable in his players. This decision might have been less than ideal in terms of winning Sunday, but to Rivera, it held real value.

“I’m trying to get our players to understand [this is] how we’re going to do things,” he said. “We’re going to do things to the max. We’re going to play to win football games.”

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Coach says Sunday’s bold call fits Washington’s goal to win now

WASHINGTON FROM D1

the way we need to do things. This is our way.’ That, to me, is important.”

It’s possible Rivera can have both. Throughout training camp and in the early weeks of the season, however, the importance was placed on the developmental aspects of his plan. After a Week 2 loss to Arizona in which he spurned a chance to go for it on a fourth down and instead opted for a field goal, he said it was important to spare his team from experiencing a shutout. After a loss at Cleveland the following week, when his team trailed by two scores, he declined to use timeouts late to try to get the ball back.

But after a Week 4 loss to Baltimore, the emphasis became about winning and winning now. Haskins was abruptly benched and the focus was on the tight race for the NFC East, with Washington facing a four-game stretch that included three divisional matchups.

“I’m taking a shot at the short term for the short-term glory,” Rivera said at the time.

But after Washington’s 20-19 loss to the previously winless Giants, it’s fair to wonder whether his plan is sustainable with Washington’s personnel. After shuffling the lineup along the offensive line and in the secondary, and with Allen making his second start, Washington again fell short by its

own doing with two costly turnovers. The team has 10 giveaways this season, tied for the fourth most entering Monday’s games.

Making matters worse is that players Rivera views as possible building blocks for the future suffered injuries that are likely to sideline them for weeks, according to people familiar with the situation. Rookie lineman Saahdiq Charles, who made his NFL debut at left guard Sunday, suffered a dislocated kneecap after only two snaps and won’t be able to return until after the team’s Week 8 bye at the earliest. Rookie wide receiver Antonio Gandy-Golden suffered a hamstring injury that will force him to miss at least a few weeks.

Rookie wide receiver Isaiah Wright was injured late in the fourth quarter, but his prognosis is not yet clear. If he’s out, too, the team will be down to three wide receivers on the active roster: Terry McLaurin, Dontrelle Inman and Cam Sims.

Yet Rivera seems undeterred. His plan is to trust his gut, be it in the final seconds of a close game or over the course of the next couple of years.

“When you start looking back and you start second-guessing yourself, you get into a situation of, ‘Oh, should I or shouldn’t I?’ And sometimes you freeze yourself,” he said Monday. “But to me, if the players know that’s what we’re going to do and how we’re

going to play, now it starts taking hold of who they are.”

His goals remain to win now, to change a culture and to set up the franchise to win later on.

“Well, we are making progress,” Rivera said. “I don’t know if we have all the pieces. I do think we have some guys that are more than capable of winning, and it’s a matter of having enough of those guys. It’s also a matter of having the mentality, of understanding what it takes to win. What do you have to do to win? How do you have to play to win? . . . The thing I like is just the fact that we have a lot of young guys playing right now, and this is their opportunity to learn and grow together.”

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SOCCER

MLS unveils initiatives to boost racial equality

MLS announced initiatives Monday to combat racism, advocate for social justice and increase diversity in soccer.

The league said the programs came after several months of discussions with key league stakeholders, including a recent meeting between the MLS board of governors and Black Players for Change, an independent organization of more than 170 MLS players, coaches and staff members aimed at confronting racial inequality.

MLS Commissioner **Don Garber** will sit on a new diversity committee consisting of members of the MLS board, representatives of Black Players for Change, club executives, coaches, former players and members of Pitch Black, a resource group of Black employees from the MLS office.

The committee will work with the league to develop a strategy to encourage diversity, inclusion, opportunity and social justice.

“Major League Soccer is committed to utilizing our wide-ranging platforms to create

meaningful programs to address racism and social injustice in society and in the sport of soccer,” Garber said in a statement. . . .

Anthony Fontana scored his sixth goal in eight games as the Philadelphia Union earned a 2-1 win over the New England Revolution in Foxborough, Mass. . . .

Just one goal across two games — and that being a fortunately deflected effort to give Wolves a 1-0 win at Leeds — ended the English Premier League’s offensive outburst.

After host West Brom and Burnley fought to the league’s first goalless draw in its 47th match, Wolves edged to victory at Elland Road thanks to **Raul Jimenez**’s second-half shot from the edge of the penalty area that ricocheted in off the bowed head of Leeds midfielder **Kalvin Phillips** in the 70th minute.

HOCKEY

Hall of Fame broadcaster **Mike Emrick** announced his retirement after almost 50 years behind the microphone.

The man affectionately known as “Doc” for his doctorate in communications spent the past 15 years as the voice of the NHL

in the United States. Emrick, 74, called 22 Stanley Cup finals and six Olympics since working his way up from the minors in the 1970s and did the most recent NHL playoffs remotely from his home in Michigan with his wife, **Joyce**, and dogs nearby. . . .

The Colorado Avalanche agreed to a one-year deal with restricted free agent **Tyson Jost**. The 22-year-old forward scored eight goals and had 15 assists in 67 games for the Avalanche in 2019-20. . . .

The Arizona Coyotes signed forward **Christian Fischer** to a two-year contract. The 23-year-old was a restricted free agent after finishing with six goals and three assists in 56 games with the Coyotes last season.

COLLEGES

Purdue football coach **Jeff Brohm** announced that he has contracted the novel coronavirus and will not be on the sideline for Saturday’s season opener at home against Iowa. Offensive coordinator **Brian Brohm** will replace his older brother and will continue calling plays. . . .

Adrian Martinez turned back a challenge from **Luke McCaffrey** to win the starting quarterback job for Nebraska’s

opener at No. 5 Ohio State, Coach **Scott Frost** said. . . .

Michigan State linebackers **Luke Fulton** and **Charles Willekes** were suspended indefinitely after being charged with assault early last month. . . .

No. 22 Marshall scheduled a Nov. 7 home game against Massachusetts. Marshall had three other games called off because of the pandemic. . . .

Richmond men’s basketball guard **Nick Sherod** will miss the coming season after tearing his right ACL during practice, Coach **Chris Mooney** said. The senior, who let the Spiders with 78 three-pointers last season, was injured Thursday, a day after the team’s first official practice. . . .

William & Mary plans to reinstate three women’s sports — swimming, volleyball and gymnastics — that had been targeted for disbandment.

AUTO RACING

NASCAR cleared **Kyle Larson** to return in 2021, ending his suspension for using a racial slur while playing a racing game.

Larson was suspended in April after he used the n-word while playing an online video game in which viewers could follow along. He was dropped by his

TELEVISION AND RADIO WORLD SERIES	
8 p.m.	Game 1: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45), WSNB (630 AM)
SOCCER	
3 p.m.	CAF Confederation Cup, semifinal: Horoya vs. Pyramids » beIN Sports
6:15 p.m.	Copa Libertadores, Group G: Delfin at Olimpia » beIN Sports
8 p.m.	Concacaf League, preliminary round: Verdes vs. Arcahaie FC » Fox Sports 2
8:30 p.m.	MLS: FC Dallas at Nashville SC » Fox Sports 1
8:30 p.m.	Copa Libertadores, Group C: Atletico-PR at Peñarol » beIN Sports
10 p.m.	Concacaf League, preliminary round: Managua vs. CD FAS » Fox Sports 2
TENNIS	
5 a.m.	WTA: Ostrava Open, early rounds; ATP: European Open and Cologne Championships, early rounds » Tennis Channel
3 a.m. (Wednesday)	WTA: Ostrava Open, early rounds; ATP: European Open and Cologne Championships, early rounds » Tennis Channel
KOREA BASEBALL ORGANIZATION	
5:30 a.m.	LG at KT » ESPN2

sponsors and fired by Chip Ganassi Racing. Larson, who is half-Japanese, spent the past six months immersed in diversity programs.

“The work I’ve done over the last six months has had a major impact on me. I will make the most of this opportunity and look forward to the future,” Larson said. . . .

Justin Haley will return to Kaulig Racing for a third season in the NASCAR Xfinity Series.

MISC.

Phil Mickelson will team up with **Charles Barkley** to face **Stephen Curry** and **Peyton**

NFL NOTES

Titans may face fines for protocol violations

FROM NEWS SERVICES AND STAFF REPORTS

The NFL could fine the Tennessee Titans for violations of coronavirus protocols cited in a review by the league and the NFL Players Association. But the league will not strip the team of any draft picks, force it to forfeit any games or discipline any officials, coaches or players, a person familiar with the findings said Monday.

The NFL and NFLPA completed their review of the novel coronavirus outbreak on the Titans, in which 24 members of the organization have tested positive for the virus since Sept. 24. The team’s training facility was closed for 11 days and two games involving the Titans were rescheduled.

The review concluded there were issues with the Titans’ compliance with protocols requiring mask-wearing within the team facility, according to the person with knowledge of the findings. The review cites gatherings of individuals without masks in certain areas in the facility.

The review by the NFL and NFLPA also concludes there was “insufficient communication” by the team to players about gatherings and workouts away from the team facility, according to the person familiar with the findings. Some Titans players reportedly gathered for off-site workouts while the team’s facility was closed during the outbreak.

The violations cited in the findings could form the basis for a fine of the team by the NFL. But the league has not made a decision about a fine, the person with knowledge of the case said.

The review said the Titans were fully cooperative and devoted extensive work and resources to preparing the team’s facility.

NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell said last week that the focus of the investigation by the league and players’ union was safety, not discipline. He previously had written in a memo to all NFL teams that any protocol violations resulting in adjustments to the schedule or affecting other teams could result in forfeits of games or the loss of draft picks.

— Mark Maske

The Titans are going to have to finish this season without left tackle Taylor Lewan, who has a torn right ACL.

Lewan said on social media that an MRI exam confirmed he tore the ligament in the Titans’ overtime win over Houston on Sunday.

•**TRADE:** The New York Jets agreed to terms of a trade that will send nose tackle Steve McLendon to the Tampa Bay Buccaneers.

Tampa Bay also acquired New York’s 2023 seventh-round draft pick for the Buccaneers’ sixth-rounder in 2022.

The deal, which was agreed upon Sunday night, reunites McLendon with Buccaneers defensive coordinator Todd Bowles, who was the Jets’ head coach from 2015 to 2018. McLendon will add depth to Tampa Bay’s defensive line, which lost nose tackle Vita Vea to a season-ending broken ankle Oct. 8.

— Associated Press

Manning in an exhibition golf match next month highlighting diversity, equality and inclusion. “The Match: Champions for Change” will take place Nov. 27 at Stone Canyon Golf Club in Oro Valley, Ariz. . . .

Steve Johnson upset former U.S. Open champion **Marin Cilic**, 7-6 (7-3), 6-4, to reach the second round of the Cologne Championships in Germany. . . .

World champion cyclist **Julian Alaphilippe** had successful surgery on his right hand following his season-ending crash at the Tour of Flanders.

— From news services

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

Titans, Steelers rise in the AFC as the Patriots tumble

On the NFL
ADAM KILGORE

The dominant on-field story line of the 2020 NFL season, for most every team aside from the New York Jets, remains the supremacy of offense. Scoring had erupted over the past several years owing to a combination of rule changes, schematic innovation and strategic advancement. The conditions of football in a pandemic — limited crowd noise, fewer full-contact preseason practices — have only exacerbated the impossibility for defenses.

Sunday was not an outlier for this season, but it was emblematic of how NFL football is played in 2020. If you don't score, you don't win. Of 12 games Sunday, the winning team scored at least 30 points in seven. Teams entered Week 6 averaging 25.7 points per game, the record by more than two points. On Sunday, teams scored an average of 22.9 points per game, even with the Jets' contribution of zero.

For defenses to have a chance, they can find an example in the marquee game of the day and Tampa Bay Buccaneers defensive coordinator Todd Bowles's group. The Green Bay Packers shredded Tampa Bay on their first two drives, but on the third, safety Jamel Dean picked off Aaron Rodgers and returned it for a touchdown. The Bucs never looked back in a 38-10 victory.

Pick-sixes are not necessarily a sustainable solution, but Dean's play is instructive. Offenses are too good for defenses to win conventionally. Defenses must make their own big plays, either by taking the ball away or getting sacks to halt drives.

They could also have the good fortune of playing the Jets. Here is what to know:

The Titans are a powerhouse. A handful of teams can stake a claim as the best in the league. One of them, as much as many in the league would hate to admit after their questionable adherence to novel coronavirus protocols, is the Tennessee Titans.

The Titans improved to 5-0 after a wild, 42-36 overtime victory over the Houston Texans, placing them among the Pittsburgh Steelers and Seattle Seahawks as the league's final undefeated teams. The Titans built a 21-7 lead in the second quarter, watched it disappear,



WADE PAYNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Titans running back Derrick Henry racked up 264 total yards and two touchdowns against the Texans.

took the lead again, lost it again, stopped a two-point conversion attempt that would have iced the game, scored a touchdown with four seconds left to force overtime and let Derrick Henry take control on the first possession to win.

So it was a typical Titans game: They made mistakes, their offense was incredible, and they ultimately found a way to win by bullying their opponent. Henry ran for 212 yards, 94 of which came on one touchdown run, and caught two passes for another 52. He scored the game-winning touchdown on a direct snap as a wildcat quarterback.

Through six weeks, which have included more than 20 positive coronavirus tests by players and staffers, the Titans have validated their march to the AFC championship game last season.

The Patriots have a fight on their hands. After a punchless 18-12 loss to the Denver Broncos dropped them to 2-3, the New England Patriots are under .500 in October for the first time since 2002, the year after their first Super Bowl title. They are suddenly facing a significant challenge in trying to make the playoffs in Year 1 post-Tom Brady.

Because of his positive coronavirus test and related postponements, Cam Newton had not played since Sept. 27.

Newton was spectacular for the first three weeks, but after the layoff, the Patriots' offense frequently bogged in the same manner as last year. Newton repeatedly held the ball too long as plodding skill position players failed to get separation downfield. He took four sacks and threw two interceptions.

The Steelers are separating themselves in the AFC North. The Cleveland Browns' string of impressive performances and their 4-1 record turned their meeting with the undefeated Steelers into a showdown, the kind of anticipated game Cleveland rarely plays in. The Steelers made quick work of serving notice that the Browns may be improved but are not on Pittsburgh's level.

The Steelers thumped the upstart Browns, 38-7, to run their record to 5-0. Browns quarterback Baker Mayfield may have been compromised by a rib injury, and he left early after absorbing vicious hits. But the performance cemented that, for all of Cleveland's improvement under first-year coach Kevin Stefanski, the Browns still occupy a secondary tier in the division. They have now lost to the Steelers and the Baltimore Ravens by a combined score of 76-13.

The Ravens improved to 5-1 with a 30-28 victory over

Philadelphia, but it was another victorious performance that left questions after they nearly allowed the Eagles to steal a win late.

Don't count out the 49ers yet. It has been a nightmare season for the defending NFC champions. San Francisco lost defensive end Nick Bosa, who may be its most important player. A high-ankle sprain knocked out quarterback Jimmy Garoppolo for 2½ games and compromised him in another. Injuries have diminished almost every other part of the 49ers' roster, too. Entering Sunday night at 2-3, they seemed headed for a season defined by rotten luck and a hellish Super Bowl hangover.

But Kyle Shanahan's ability to build an offensive game plan is second to none. The 49ers may have lost too much high-end talent to be considered a Super Bowl threat, but they won't be easy to dethrone in the NFC, as their 24-16 victory over the Los Angeles Rams showed.

Garoppolo is not fully recovered from his injury, but he played a wonderfully efficient game, completing 23 of 33 passes for 268 yards and three touchdowns with no interceptions. At 3-3, the 49ers have plenty of work to do, but they're not going away quietly.

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JERRY BREWER

As Tampa Bay teams shine, Brady's Bucs fit right in

BREWER FROM D1

civic pride as it pursues its first MLB title.

But the city isn't done thriving, it seems. Six games into the season, Brady and the Bucs are improving at a good pace. What matters most is how they're doing it: The entire team is growing together. Brady is playing well, not carrying everyone else. The Bucs' weaknesses are diminishing. Their balance on offense and defense is emerging. Their methods seem sustainable. While they aren't yet as formidable as other contenders, they have significant potential, and they are showing the competence to reach that ceiling.

On Sunday, Tampa Bay improved to 4-2 after its most impressive victory of the season, a 38-10 hammering of previously unbeaten Green Bay. The Buccaneers' defense proved that Aaron Rodgers and the Packers aren't unstoppable. They forced Rodgers into his first two interceptions of the season, with Jamel Dean returning one for a touchdown. Rodgers had thrown 13 touchdown passes and posted a 128.4 passer rating in his first four games, but against Tampa Bay, he was 16 for 35 for 160 yards and didn't throw for a score. And an offense that entered the game averaging a league-best 38 points — an offense that hadn't scored fewer than 30 points in any game — faltered.

This was the kind of performance that many assumed we would see from the Bucs as soon as the season began. But it was going to take time. Brady came south toting six championship rings from New England and determined to show he can still play at 43. His new team had a productive collection of offensive weapons and an accomplished offensive mind in Coach Bruce Arians. Rob Gronkowski even came roaring out of retirement to join his quarterback. Nevertheless, there's no such thing as an instant



MARK LOMOGLIO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Lightning won the Stanley Cup, the Rays are in the World Series, and Tom Brady has helped the Buccaneers to a 4-2 start.

contender in the NFL, and a truncated offseason made that all the more impossible. Tampa Bay had to commit to a process. A 34-23 season-opening loss to New Orleans reinforced the notion.

Now, you see a team that keeps learning from the season's hard lessons. You see a team that keeps developing while managing the scrutiny that comes with the spotlight Brady provides. To become a legitimate Super Bowl contender, a squad must be able to grind and evolve, and during the learning process, you want to see flashes of excellence that start to last longer as the year progresses. Undoubtedly, this was the first great spike of Tampa Bay's season. A championship run will require several more.

“Certainly, there are things we can do better than we did,” Brady said. “And we’re going to keep working at it.” Just a week ago, Brady was dealing with humiliation. In the closing moments of a loss to Chicago, he seemed to lose track of the downs, looking stunned after an errant fourth-down pass. Brady, Arians and the team denied a gaffe. Still, he was mocked for having an old man

moment. Whether it was a mistake or just a silly controversy, the freak occurrence took away from the bigger picture: Overall, Brady has been really good this season. His statistical productivity is close to his prime numbers. His remaining talent flickers from time to time, and instead of being asked to cover all of his team's warts, he needs his team to pick him up on occasion.

The beatdown of Green Bay provided an example. Brady was solid and careful with the football, completing 17 of 27 passes for 166 yards and throwing for two touchdowns without an interception. Ronald Jones II rushed for 113 yards, Gronk went Gronk for the first time this season, and the defense owned the day. That's far more encouraging than winning because Brady threw for 369 yards and five touchdowns. He did that against the Los Angeles Chargers two weeks ago, but if Tampa Bay expects that regularly, it is not a formula for consistent success, not at this point in Brady's career.

“First and foremost, it was a great team win,” Jones said. “Coach said it was going to take

everybody, and that's what it was.”

Brady needs to be allowed to pick and choose his moments. He has to function more as a complement, but he can still be a star while doing so. Arians is beginning to figure out the ideal mix there. The Bucs can still get more out of their running game. Everything is coming together, including the health of their receiving corps. After penalties and undisciplined football got the best of them against Chicago, they responded by not being charged with a single penalty against Green Bay for just the second time in franchise history.

“I can't say that I've ever been in a ballgame with no penalties,” the 68-year-old Arians said.

During two decades in New England, Brady experienced plenty of moments in which Boston-area teams fed off one another and turned the region into Titledtown, U.S.A. So Tampa's hot streak in sports must feel familiar. Perhaps he has been the good-luck charm. He signed with the Bucs near the start of the nation's long, difficult battle with the coronavirus. For Tampa, he was the first major victory.

Since his arrival in March, it seems the city can't lose. Include the entire region of central Florida, and it goes down as the epicenter of sports during this time. The NBA retreated to Disney World, near Orlando, to finish its season. The WNBA hosted its campaign at IMG Academy in Bradenton. Throw in the Lightning, the Rays and the NFL's greatest active legend joining the Bucs, and you can't even think about sports without focusing on central Florida.

And Tampa is still scheduled to host Super Bowl LV. At the unlikely new epicenter of sports drama, the crazy dream of Brady and the Bucs headlining the party is gaining legitimacy.

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For more by Jerry Brewer, visit washingtonpost.com/brewer.

NFL ROUNDUP

Ground game guides Kansas City to a victory

CHIEFS 26, BILLS 17

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Patrick Mahomes didn't mind taking a back seat to rookie Clyde Edwards-Helaire and the Kansas City Chiefs' running attack.

With the Buffalo Bills working hard to limit deep throws by Mahomes, he kept handing off the ball and Kansas City won, 26-17, on Monday night in Orchard Park, N.Y., in a game that was originally scheduled for last Thursday.

“We want to go down and throw these long touchdowns,” Mahomes said. “But if teams are going to play us like this, we’ve got to show we can run the football.”

Led by Edwards-Helaire's 161 rushing yards, the Chiefs finished with 245 — the most since Mahomes took over as the starter in 2017. Kansas City's 46 rushing attempts were also its most in eight years under Coach Andy Reid, and that was with newly signed Le'Veon Bell waiting to make his debut after signing with the Chiefs on Thursday.

Mahomes finished 21 for 26 for 225 yards with two touchdowns, both to tight end Travis Kelce. His first touchdown was the 90th of his career in his 37th game, breaking the NFL record for the fewest games to 90 TD passes. Hall of Famer Dan Marino had held the mark at 40 games.

The Chiefs are 5-1 for the third time in four seasons, and they bounced back from a 40-32 loss to the Las Vegas Raiders on Oct. 11.

Buffalo (4-2) lost its second straight game. The Bills fell, 42-16, at Tennessee on Tuesday, a game that was moved because of a novel coronavirus outbreak on the Titans. That led to the Kansas City-Buffalo game being pushed back as well. The Chiefs, who were originally scheduled to play three games in 11 days, wound up having two more days of rest than the Bills.

The game was played in an empty stadium because of state coronavirus regulations.

Buffalo's defense sold out to prevent Mahomes from going deep but proved vulnerable against the run.

“We felt we did well limiting them from taking it off the top, but the run game's just another part of their game, and they executed it well,” safety Micah Hyde said.

The Bills were undone by allowing the Chiefs to convert nine of 14 third-down chances, two of them on a 12-play, 75-yard drive that ended on Harrison Butker's 30-yard field goal with 1:56 remaining.

During that drive, Buffalo's

Justin Zimmer stripped the ball from Edwards-Helaire at the Kansas City 30. The play was ruled a fumble on the field, but that was overturned after replays showed Edwards-Helaire's knee was down.

Two plays later on third and 11, Mahomes scrambled out of trouble and hit Byron Pringle for 37 yards. Mahomes then ate up more clock with a nine-yard scamper on third and seven.

“Frustrating, just because we feel like as a defense we’ve got to find a way to get our offense back on the field,” Hyde said. “We had to get a stop, and we didn’t.”

Buffalo's run defense had its worst outing since giving up 273 yards in a loss to New England on Dec. 23, 2018.

The Bills' Josh Allen finished 14 for 27 for 122 yards with touchdown passes to Stefon Diggs and Cole Beasley.

Chiefs tackle Mitchell Schwartz, who started his 134th straight game, did not return after the first series because of a back injury. He has the longest active streak among offensive linemen.

Kansas City wide receiver Sammy Watkins did not play after hurting his hamstring last week.

•**CARDINALS 38, COWBOYS 10:** Kyler Murray accounted for three touchdowns in his first game back home as a pro, and Ezekiel Elliott set up the first two Arizona touchdowns with fumbles as the Cardinals beat Dallas in Arlington, Tex.

Murray, the speedy quarterback who won three high school championships and a Big 12 title at the home of the Cowboys, improved to 7-0 as a starter at AT&T Stadium, throwing for two scores despite a rough start and rushing for 74 yards and a touchdown.

It was the “Monday Night Football” debut for Murray, a star in high school football-obsessed Texas while playing in the Dallas suburbs, and Kliff Kingsbury, who also had a happy first trip to his native Texas as an NFL coach.

Fired after six seasons at Texas Tech in 2018 without any winning records in Big 12 games, Kingsbury was hired by Arizona soon after and has the Cardinals (4-2) tied for second place in the NFC West.

Andy Dalton had the rest of Dallas's four turnovers with two interceptions in his first start for the Cowboys in place of the injured Dak Prescott.

Elliott's miscues led to the fifth straight game in which the Cowboys (2-4) trailed by at least two touchdowns.

The two-time rushing champion was benched briefly after he lost a second fumble in a game for the first time in his career. He already has five fumbles (four lost), which is just one shy of his career high for an entire season.

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BASEBALL

Nationals pick Hickey to coach the pitchers

BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

With a staff to rebuild, Washington Nationals Manager Dave Martinez turned quickly to an old and familiar friend. Jim Hickey will be the club's new pitching coach, the Nationals announced Monday, reuniting with Martinez after they spent seven years together with the Tampa Bay Rays.

Hickey, 59, has spent 15 seasons as a pitching coach. Those were scattered across the Houston Astros, Rays and the Chicago Cubs most recently. Hickey left the Cubs in November 2018 and has since been a special assistant for player development with the Los Angeles Dodgers. That he was looking for a full-time job in the majors and Martinez planned to bring his own guys aboard made Hickey and the Nationals a logical match.

"I have definitely evolved; it's become more, as you know, data-driven," Hickey said on a video call with reporters Monday. "But at the end of the day, it's the same game, and the best pitch in the game is strike one and that kind of thing. I think I've got the best of both worlds — a little bit of old-school and a lot of the newer-age stuff as well."

Washington had the opening after parting ways with Paul Menhart this month. Menhart was the pitching coach for most of 2019 and all of 2020. But Martinez's new contract, a multiyear deal signed in late September, gave him more autonomy with his staff. The team did not renew the contracts of Menhart, hitting coach Kevin Long and bench coach Chip Hale. Tim Bogar, Bobby Henley, Henry Blanco and Pat Roessler are the other holdovers from last season, and all four were on expiring deals.

With Hickey on board, Martinez will keep molding the group to his liking. Bogar and Blanco go back to Martinez's time with the Rays, too, making it likely they'll stick around. Henley is an organizational lifer. Roessler figures to be on the thinnest ice, having been hired as assistant hitting coach at Long's recommendation. Hickey's hiring shows the Nationals are wasting no time.

"You have no idea; I don't even think that I can explain it," Hickey said of having a fresh challenge at this point of his career. "These last couple of seasons here, as I was a player development special assistant with the Dodgers, was really, really eye-opening, and it was very, very gratifying. But you always just have that major league tug. You want to get back to that."

Hickey was the pitching coach when the Rays won their first American League pennant in 2008. Across a decade with Tampa Bay, he helped develop David Price, Scott Kazmir, James Shields and Matt Moore, among others. His latest role, in player development with the Dodgers, led to more work with younger arms.

The Nationals will return Max Scherzer, Stephen Strasburg and Patrick Corbin to their rotation in 2021. They'll also bring back veterans Daniel Hudson and Will Harris in the bullpen. So what they'll need most from Hickey — what the team has needed for years — is a push for unproven pitchers. Joe Ross, Erick Fedde and Austin Voth have yet to establish themselves as surefire starters. Relievers Tanner Rainey and Kyle Finnegan have a lot of positives to build on. Then the next wave, players such as Ben Braymer, Seth Romero and Kyle McGowin, could use a strong bridge between the minors and majors.

A lot will ride on Hickey's ability to bring them all along. His recent experience with the Dodgers, a team with a knack for fostering arms, could help.

"What specifically stood out about them, especially with how they went about their minor leagues, was just how on the same page they all were," Hickey said, outlining a web of communication that would include Martinez and pitching coordinators Brad Holman and Spin Williams in Washington.

"How united they all were and how close [they] were personally as well," Hickey continued of the Dodgers. "I thought that that was very impressive. That's the type of thing I would like to see. I'm not saying that's not in Washington now, but that's the type of thing I would like to see because you definitely have to be in the same step to get things done. And I don't anticipate that that will be a problem at all."

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BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

SAN DIEGO — Once the Tampa Bay Rays made the World Series, just squeezing past the Houston Astros on Saturday, something odd happened in a room off the team's clubhouse at Petco Park: The Rays ran out of ways to explain Randy Arozarena this October.

"I don't have any words that can describe what he's done, what he's meant to us this postseason," Manager Kevin Cash said of the player who has lifted his team again and again, then again with a two-run shot in Game 7 of the American League Championship Series. Kevin Kiermaier and Mike Zunino just shook their heads and laughed a bit. When it comes to Arozarena — the shooting, slugging star of these playoffs — his coaches, teammates and opposing pitchers are brain-twisted and stumped.

To date, on the doorstep of the World Series, Arozarena has the rookie record with seven postseason homers and counting. His 11 extra-base hits are a franchise record. He was named the ALCS MVP after bullying the Astros with four homers, a double and nine total hits in 28 at-bats. He'll be the Los Angeles Dodgers' biggest problem in a lineup that, to reach this title chance, fought inconsistency and had to scrap.

But Arozarena is its constant and a fitting illustration of these Rays. The St. Louis Cardinals tossed him into a trade in January. The deal was headlined by José Martínez for a former first-round draft pick — not the now-25-year-old Cuban outfielder with speed and hints of power. Now, though, Arozarena is the reason that swap looms above this month. The Rays landed an unknown player fit to guide them through the wringer.

They just need four more wins. "Ever since I got traded over, it's felt like a family," Arozarena said through a team interpreter.



JOHN G. MABANGLO/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Rays outfielder Randy Arozarena was the ALCS MVP after hitting four home runs against the Astros.

"They welcomed me with open arms. They let me be myself. They let me have the freedom to be out there and be the player I want to be."

Before this run, while Tampa Bay was building the AL's best record, Arozarena toiled at the team's alternate training site in Port Charlotte, Fla. He had been a fringe outfielder with the Cardinals. At first, he had to make the Rays. Then they had a roster spot after sending Martínez — yes, the same José Martínez — to the Chicago Cubs on Aug. 30 near the trade deadline. Arozarena was

given a shot.

And when that happened, Misha Dworcen had a prediction. Dworcen, one of the club's bullpen catchers, told reliever John Curtiss that recalling Arozarena was the best deadline acquisition in baseball. Curtiss, in truth, knew little about Arozarena. Neither did most of the Rays. He flashed talent in spring training before a four-month break amid the novel coronavirus pandemic. How he got to the majors, let alone how he got to the country, was lost on most of his new teammates.

In 2015, Arozarena defected from Cuba on a small boat bound for Mexico. Cuba was where he grew up, where his family lived, where at age 8 he went from being a soccer player to loving baseball. But he always felt there was better opportunity in America. He wanted to provide more for his mother and siblings after his father died when he was a teenager. He left at age 19, chasing a dream.

"It was very scary," Arozarena said recently. "It's something I hope I won't have to experience anymore. It was about eight hours of risking my life, not

knowing exactly what's going to happen. But I knew if I escaped successfully, I was going to be able to help out my family in the end."

So Curtiss met Dworcen's bet with skepticism, saying, "Man, that's a bold claim." But last week, when the Rays were a win from the World Series, Curtiss admitted that Dworcen was right. Arozarena erupted for seven homers in September. Then the playoffs started and he zoned in.

Arozarena notched four hits and a triple in a first-round sweep of the Toronto Blue Jays. He punched the New York Yankees with eight hits and three homers in their AL Division Series. He got even hotter against the Astros, growing his legend, but it wasn't just the offense. Arozarena has worn borrowed, black-sequenced cowboy boots for good luck. He celebrates like a kid. When the Rays edged the Yankees to advance, Arozarena took down teammate Brett Phillips in a dance contest in front of their dugout. He's the heartbeat of Tampa Bay's order and its attention-grabbing frontman.

"You sit here and look at this group of guys, and I always say we don't have a lot of household names," Kiermaier said of the small-market team. "But at the same time, people are making a name for themselves right now."

Put Arozarena at the top of that list. Count the number of fans who now consider him their favorite, then add one to the tally. Earlier this month, as he tore through the AL, Arozarena was asked about Cuban players he admires. He mentioned Astros first baseman Yuli Gurriel. He played the game for a moment.

Yet his real answer came quickly, perhaps revealing how he, of all people, has often bent the playoffs to his will.

"My favorite player is Randy Arozarena," Randy Arozarena said, allowing himself to grin.

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THOMAS BOSWELL

After 44 World Series and 252 games, a streak is coming to an end

BOSWELL FROM D1

you wrote.

In 2002, I finished a "Giants win first World Series in 48 years" column. Then the Angels rallied to win Games 6 and 7. A friend, a Giants fan who had never seen his team win a title, called me. "I bet you wrote a 'Giants win' column," he said. "Can you send a copy, so I can frame it?"

In 2017, after an extra-innings Dodgers-Astros marathon, I bumped into a baseball scribe as we headed to the same plane. Sleep? "An hour," I said. "None," he said, adding, "I'm too old for this s---."

I resisted my senior-citizen prerogative to say, "Wait and see how it feels in another 20 years."

What is so fun about covering the playoffs and World Series that you don't much care about those drawbacks anyway? Why would anybody keep doing this for so long?

Because there's nothing like it. You can't plan out World Series stories ahead of time. You can do homework to prep, can come up with story ideas or themes. But baseball usually blows them up. World Series reality makes surrealism seem boring.

You're left with adrenaline (which you may need for five hours straight), fear of failure, the power of the game itself and the hope that — one more time, please, just one more time — your fingers will start flying. The ideas and insights will rush faster than you can type, and you will suddenly be in a place that you have never reached in any other way.

You will be inspired. You don't know where the words you are writing are coming from or what will come next. You give yourself over totally to the moment and to blind trust — what's the alternative? — in yourself. You reach the final paragraph, the conclusion, the kicker, often with no idea what it'll be. And suddenly, it jumps straight onto the page, a thing your mind was composing behind the scenes.

Sometimes, the writers next to you will tell you that you were chuckling aloud as you wrote. Sometimes, you'll finish with tears on your face.

That may sound romantic. It is romantic. You may say, "It's only baseball," and you'd be right. But



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

At Nationals Park during last year's World Series, Thomas Boswell is bottom row, center, in a ball cap.

I suspect that creativity, whether the scale is miniature or masterpiece, feels a little bit similar.

Of course, there are nights when not much adrenaline shows up or your ideas are mundane. Minutes from deadline, you look at 3,000 words of unholy mess. "The hell with it," you say, admit defeat and commandeer 1,200 words — some from here, some from there — and hope nobody realizes how disgusted you are. On to the next day.

Fans ask sportswriters for their "favorite" World Series. That's friendly, but it misses the point. The athletes are playing their game. We're playing ours. The world cares about their final score. But, like anybody in any job, we care about how we perform.

By this (personal) standard, my favorite Series game was in 1982, Brewers vs. Cardinals. I don't remember which game or who won. But I remember that, in an auxiliary press box with a couple of dozen writers, my computer ate my story just before deadline. In that era, irretrievable.

"%\$#@!" I exploded.

"Story eaten," I gasped to my editor on the phone. "Can we still make the City [edition]?"

I doubt anybody held the presses, but it felt like it. "Did we make it?" I asked 20 minutes later. Yes!

Relieved, I leaned back in my chair. Then I heard applause. Who says "No cheering in the press box"?

My No. 2 was just bat-flip showboating. At the 2001 World Series, the Yankees tied Game 4 on a Tino Martinez homer with two outs in the ninth, then won it in extra innings. The next night, one of The Post's top editors sat next to me. That was unusual. But the Series had never been played in New York the month after 9/11, either.

Midnight approached. My column on a Diamondbacks win was finished, set to send. Then a premonition came: "It happened again," I wrote. "It couldn't, but it did." The editor, now a good friend, read along.

Nothing had happened, yet, as I wrote about "a city so full of pain that it cannot find words to speak it and so desperate to rediscover joy that it can't stop screaming its cheers."

My new premise: Reader, let's

watch together as something that has never happened before comes to pass. As I was about to type the word "impossible," Scott Brosius hit a two-run, two-out homer in the ninth to tie the score. On Alfonso Soriano's walk-off hit in the 12th, there should've been a final play at the plate, but the ball took a bad hop. Maybe, I wrote, it "hit a police shield or Babe Ruth's watch fob."

Game over, hit "send."

And you wonder how stories on games that end at 1 a.m. get in the paper on your doorstep at 6 a.m.

In some sense, the "best" Series are the ones involving teams you covered all season. What an advantage and chance to shine! My first time was 1979, and Baltimore Orioles Manager Earl Weaver was so mad at me that, for the whole postseason, he refused to speak to me or to any group of which I was a part.

I had written about an argument he had with Jim Palmer the day after the O's clinched the AL East. Earl had said for days how much he would drink in the victory celebration; I simply wrote that Earl had kept his word, which probably factored in the fuss.

"My mother read it, and she cried," Weaver said.

So I covered a seven-game Series without a word from the most quotable manager in history. Next spring training, Earl approached. "My wife says I'll go to hell," he said, "if I don't talk to you."

"Okay, Earl," I said, "but I don't have any questions right now."

Millions will remember that first Series I covered in 1975 because of Carlton Fisk waving his arms, willing his drive to hit the Fenway foul pole.

I'll remember that Series because it symbolized the incredible difference between American sports then and now. I told a college friend that I could smuggle him into the Fenway Park press box if, instead of dressing like the psychiatrist he had become, he would dress like a slob and carry a notebook and pen.

It worked. We acted like we belonged, I casually tapped my credential, and we watched together in the back row of the main press box. Now, we might end up in cuffs, and that kid reporter would get fired.

In part, I was cavalier because, after six years at The Post, never covering anything above high school sports, I still didn't know if I wanted a life as a sportswriter or even a journalist. A new sports editor took me off preps and made me the only baseball writer in America in a town with no team.

The ways our identities form, the choices we make, can be that flexible. The 1975 World Series turned out to be, at that time, an instant choice as the greatest World Series ever played. The sport began moving from out of favor to beloved again — and something worth writing about.

I'd always loved the game and its literature, played it as well as I could, and saw it as one of many windows from which a writer might glimpse the horizon. So, I stuck with it, to let it play out — never imagining at 27 that I had framed my whole life.

Stories take you places in the process of writing that you never considered. It just happened again. Where would I be today if Fisk's ball had gone foul?

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For more by Thomas Boswell, visit washingtonpost.com/boswell.

Cavaliers could stick with using three QBs

BY GENE WANG

Virginia's quarterback situation remains in flux, said Coach Bronco Mendenhall, who confirmed Monday that starter Brennan Armstrong remains in the concussion protocol after missing Saturday's game against Wake Forest.

Armstrong was injured during the first half of the Cavaliers' 38-21 loss to North Carolina State on Oct. 10 when he absorbed a blow to the helmet while sliding at the end of a run. The sophomore was making the third start of his career after winning the job in training camp.

"I don't know when he'll be released, nor do I ever know," Mendenhall said when asked about a timetable for Armstrong being cleared to play. "It's something I never even come close to influencing. There's way too much at stake, so I just wait, and whenever our training staff and medical community says they're back, that's great."

Virginia (1-3, 1-3 ACC) used three quarterbacks against the Demon Deacons during a 40-23 loss, its third consecutive defeat, as it fell to 12th place out of 15 teams in the conference. The reigning Coastal Division champion next faces No. 11 Miami (4-1, 3-1) on Saturday night at Hard Rock Stadium.

Lindell Stone, who began the season third on the depth chart, started for the first time in his career and completed 24 of 42 passes for 193 yards. The junior did not throw a touchdown pass while tossing two interceptions one week after posting single-game bests in passing yards (240), touchdown passes (three), completions (30) and attempts (54).

Keytaon Thompson also played extensively but did not attempt a pass. The graduate transfer from Mississippi State ran 10 times for a team-high 71 yards to provide a change of pace from Stone, whose profile is much more in line with a traditional drop-back passer.

Iraken Armstead, a freshman, played as well, rushing six times for 46 yards and a touchdown and finishing 1-for-3 passing for nine yards.

"I thought it was really effective," Stone said of playing three quarterbacks. "The offensive coaches put together a really good plan for this weekend, and we were really efficient. And I thought Keytaon and Ira, they played really, really well. They competed really hard, and they were really efficient. The plan was great."

The additions of Thompson and Armstead at quarterback sparked the rushing attack, which amassed 218 yards. Virginia had not run for more than 200 yards in an ACC game since Oct. 27, 2018, and it has been limited in running back depth this season.

Mendenhall indicated that if Armstrong is not available Saturday, Virginia could deploy the three-quarterback system again because of its unpredictable nature, especially if Thompson has recovered from a shoulder ailment that has been affecting his ability to throw comfortably.

"I thought we did a very strong job of rotating the different players we had, within drives and within the game, to use the skill sets that they have to move the football and keep the opponent off-balance," Mendenhall said. "Yes, it was chaotic, but it was by design."

During his first four seasons, Mendenhall played just two quarterbacks regularly: Kurt Benkert and Bryce Perkins. Both contributed to the Cavaliers' transformation by setting program records in their two years as the starter.

Armstrong took over for Perkins and leads Virginia with five passing touchdowns and 596 yards, completing 54 of 97 attempts (55.7 percent) with six interceptions. The left-hander had thrown two interceptions in the first half against North Carolina State before leaving the game.

"We prepare as if they will never be back," Mendenhall said of players who enter the concussion protocol. "We very well could use a similar approach [against Miami] if that's what happens, but again, to go any further would probably not be in the best interest of my team in terms of having something to be uncovered on game day. But it's a possibility you could see something similar."

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Morey didn't win a title with the Rockets, but he reshaped the game

On the NBA
BEN GOLLIVER
resigned last week after a 13-year tenure in which he established himself as one of the NBA's best executives and biggest targets. Like James Harden, the franchise guard he spent eight seasons building around, Morey didn't win a title. To critics who resented the Rockets' unconventional tactics, Harden will forever be a postseason choker and Morey will forever be the analytics dork from MIT who never understood the human side of basketball.

Neither label is fair, even if Morey's final season ended disastrously. His July 2019 trade for Russell Westbrook will probably go down as the most damaging deal of his career. His October 2019 tweet in support of Hong Kong protesters prompted a year-long international incident with China that cost the NBA hundreds of millions of dollars. And Houston's promising playoff run in the bubble sputtered out when Danuel House broke health protocols, leading to a humiliating second-round loss to the Los Angeles Lakers and coach Mike D'Antoni's abrupt departure.

Yet Morey should not be defined by the championship he never won or his disappointing final chapter. During his 13 years, the Rockets won and won and won. Houston was 640-400 (.615) under Morey, winning more regular season games than every franchise except the San Antonio Spurs and winning more playoff games than all but seven teams during that time period. Seven of the Rockets' 10 best seasons in their 53-year history came under Morey, including a franchise-record 65 wins in 2018. Houston's eight-year playoff run is the NBA's longest active streak.

Not only that, Morey's Rockets reshaped the sport. In 2007-08, Morey's first full year, the average NBA team attempted 18 three-pointers per game. That number nearly doubled to 34 in 2019-20, with Houston leading the league in attempts for the fourth straight season. The Rockets' obsession with the outside shot and its resulting efficiency advantages drove a dramatic reorientation of offense that included changes to style of play, lineup configurations and shot locations.

Houston's steadfast pursuit of layups, free throws and three-pointers in lieu of midrange jumpers became known as "Moreyball," and soon enough most of the league was

mimicking his approach to one degree or another. Morey pushed the envelope in many other ways on the court: Houston experimented with small-ball and micro-sized lineups, switching defenses and isolation-heavy offenses, while altering its tempo from year to year to accommodate its best players. Some of these strategies are, or were, regarded as modern best practices.

That same innovative spirit was visible off the court: Morey broke from most of his contemporaries in many ways. He was a high-volume trader, preferring to quickly shuffle the chairs rather than hope that a broken formula might be fixed with time. He was a very public face for his organization, rallying fans and hyping up his players on social media rather than prizing maximum discretion. He pushed the limits of the collective bargaining agreement by concocting the backloaded, so-called "poison pill" offer for Jeremy Lin; constructing convoluted multi-team trades; and leading carefully orchestrated free agency recruitments.

Morey's obsession with winning was always evident. His 2012 trade for Harden was his signature move, but he was a complete executive who found success in the draft, free agency and trades alike. Morey selected

Clint Capela and Montrezl Harrell well outside the lottery, landed Dwight Howard in free agency, packaged a host of assets to trade for Chris Paul and plucked Patrick Beverley from Europe.

In an era when stars constantly changed teams, Morey went above and beyond to keep Harden happy. He excelled at finding veterans such as P.J. Tucker who fit with his franchise player, and he wasn't afraid to take a chance on distressed assets who might find a second life in a narrow role. The Westbrook trade was regrettable — Morey gave away Paul, a better player on a better contract, and a host of draft picks — but it was made at the behest of Harden and brash owner Tilman Fertitta. Managing Harden's cast and massaging his ego required personal skills that belie the notion that Morey was a soulless quant.

Indeed, very few general managers can claim to have Morey's broad skill set and depth of experience. A list of the five executives most qualified to turn an expansion team into a consistent winner would include Morey alongside Toronto's Masai Ujiri, Boston's Danny Ainge and Oklahoma City's Sam Presti. Morey is easily the best available executive on the market, and he will still hold

that title in 2021 if he sits out the upcoming season as expected.

Morey's value to the Rockets should become crystal clear as the franchise plunges ahead without him. Fertitta has consistently acted like an impulsive novice, he has been open about his financial difficulties during the pandemic, and he has now said goodbye to a visionary executive and a well-respected coach. The Westbrook trade complicated Houston's title hopes, and further slippage is likely, given the recent organizational upheaval. Fertitta might soon be forced to explore trade offers for Harden, Westbrook or both.

While Morey never played a second in an NBA game and never built a title team in Houston, he did establish a philosophical alignment from owner to executive to coach to star that lasted a full decade before Fertitta's 2017 arrival. That connectivity, so prized by the best basketball organizations, required significant time, talent and trust. It can't be easily rebuilt.

The biggest question now is whether Fertitta understands all that he has lost. It shouldn't take one of Morey's fancy algorithms to realize that Houston's future isn't nearly as bright as its recent past.

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SCOREBOARD

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL

NFC

EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Dallas	2	4	0	.333	173	218
Philadelphia	1	4	1	.250	141	175
N.Y. Giants	1	5	0	.166	101	152
Washington	1	5	0	.166	108	162

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Tampa Bay	4	2	0	.666	177	122
New Orleans	3	2	0	.600	153	150
Carolina	3	3	0	.500	138	141
Atlanta	1	5	0	.166	162	184

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Chicago	5	1	0	.833	128	116
Green Bay	4	1	0	.800	162	139
Detroit	2	3	0	.400	133	143
Minnesota	1	5	0	.166	155	192

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Seattle	5	0	0	1.000	169	135
L.A. Rams	4	2	0	.666	152	114
Arizona	4	2	0	.666	166	112
San Francisco	3	3	0	.500	148	130

AFC

EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	4	2	0	.666	165	159
Miami	3	3	0	.500	160	113
New England	2	3	0	.400	109	110
N.Y. Jets	0	6	0	.000	75	185

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Tennessee	5	0	0	1.000	164	126
Indianapolis	4	2	0	.666	157	115
Houston	1	5	0	.166	146	182
Jacksonville	1	5	0	.166	125	181

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Pittsburgh	5	0	0	1.000	156	94
Baltimore	5	1	0	.833	179	104
Cleveland	4	2	0	.666	163	187
Cincinnati	1	4	1	.250	129	157

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Kansas City	5	1	0	.833	175	127
Las Vegas	3	2	0	.600	151	152
Denver	2	3	0	.400	100	110
L.A. Chargers	1	4	0	.200	110	125

WEEK 6 SUNDAY'S RESULTS

at N.Y. Giants 20, Washington 19
Baltimore 30, at Philadelphia 28
at Tennessee 42, Houston 36 (OT)
at Indianapolis 31, Cincinnati 27
Atlanta 40, at Minnesota 23, OT
Chicago 23, at Carolina 16
Detroit 34, at Jacksonville 16
at Pittsburgh 38, Cleveland 7
Denver 18, at New England 12
at Miami 24, N.Y. Jets 0
at Tampa Bay 38, Green Bay 10
at San Francisco 24, L.A. Rams 16
BYE: L.A. Chargers, Las Vegas, New Orleans, Seattle

MONDAY'S RESULTS

Kansas City 26, at Buffalo 17
Arizona 38, at Dallas 10

WEEK 7 THURSDAY'S GAME

N.Y. Giants at Philadelphia (-3½), 8:20

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Dallas (-3½) at Washington, 1
Buffalo (-12½) at N.Y. Jets, 1
Pittsburgh (-2) at Tennessee, 1
Green Bay (-3½) at Houston, 1
Cleveland (-3½) at Cincinnati, 1
Carolina at New Orleans (-7½), 1
Detroit at Atlanta (-3), 1
Seattle (-4) at Arizona, 4:05
Kansas City (-9½) at Denver, 4:25
San Francisco at New England (-2½), 4:25
Jacksonville at L.A. Chargers (-8), 4:25
Tampa Bay (-3) at Las Vegas, 8:20
BYE: Baltimore, Indianapolis, Miami, Minnesota

MONDAY'S GAME

Chicago at L.A. Rams (-5½), 8:15

TENNIS

ATP

EUROPEAN OPEN

At Lotto Arena; In Antwerp, Belgium
Purse: \$394,800
Surface: Hardcourt indoor

SINGLES — QUALIFICATION

Lloyd Harris (5), South Africa, def. Federico Coria (3), Argentina, 6-4, 6-0; Marcos Giron (4), United States, def. Yasutaka Uchiyama (6), Japan, 7-6 (7-1), 6-2; Salvatore Caruso (1), Italy, def. Yuichi Sugita (8), Japan, 6-3, 6-4; Emil Ruusuvuori (7), Finland, def. Joao Sousa (2), Portugal, 1-1, ret.

SINGLES — ROUND OF 32

Feliciano Lopez, Spain, def. Tommy Paul, United States, 6-3, 6-2; Frances Tiafoe, United States, def. Dusan Lajovic (6), Serbia, 6-3, 7-6 (8-6); Ugo Humbert, France, vs. Kimmer Coppekens, Belgium, 6-4, 6-3.

DOUBLES — ROUND OF 16

Yannick Mertens and Michael Geerts, Belgium, def. Luca Nardi, Italy, and Zane Khan, United States, 6-4, 7-6 (7-3); Michael Venus, New Zealand, and John Peers (2), Australia, def. Luke Bambridge, Britain, and Jackson Withrow, United States, 6-4, 7-5.

TRANSACTIONS

NFL

Buffalo Bills: Promoted DE Bryan Cox and DT Justin Zimmerman to the active roster.
Cincinnati Bengals: Signed DL Margus Hunt. Waived DT Andrew Brown.
Detroit Lions: Signed DT Albert Huggins to the practice squad.
Houston Texans: Claimed DT Eli Ankou off waivers from the Colts.
Jacksonville Jaguars: Signed DB Nate Meadors to the practice squad.

Chiefs 26, Bills 17

CHIEFS	7	6	7	6 — 26
BILLS	3	7	0	7 — 17

FIRST QUARTER

Buffalo: FG Bass 48, 5:42.
Kansas City: Kelce 11 pass from Mahomes (Butker kick), 3:05.

SECOND QUARTER

Buffalo: Diggs 4 pass from Allen (Bass kick), 11:22.
Kansas City: Kelce 12 pass from Mahomes (kick failed), 4:56.

THIRD QUARTER

Buffalo: Diggs 13 run (Butker kick), 1:18.
Kansas City: Kelce 12 pass from Mahomes (kick failed), 4:56.

FOURTH QUARTER

Kansas City: FG Butker 37, 9:07.
Buffalo: Beasley 8 pass from Allen (Bass kick), 6:34.
Attendance: 0.

	CHIEFS	BILLS
First Downs	27	20
Total Net Yards	466	206
Rushes-Yards	46-245	23-84
Passing	22-122	1-12
Punt Returns	2-2	1-24
Kickoff Returns	2-33	1-29
Interceptions Ret.	1-4	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	21-26-0	14-27-1
Sacked-Yards Lost	1-4	0-0
Punts	2-40	4-53
Fumbles-Lost	2-1	0-0
Penalties-Yards	8-68	4-39
Time Of Possession	37:45	22:15

RUSHING

Kansas City: Edwards-Helaire 26-161, Mahomes 10-36, Williams 6-26, D.Thompson 3-17, Hill 1-5.
Buffalo: Allen 8-42, Singletary 10-32, Moss 5-10.

PASSING

Kansas City: Mahomes 21-26-0-225.
Buffalo: Allen 14-27-1-122.

RECEIVING

Kansas City: Robinson 5-69, Kelce 5-65, Edwards-Helaire 4-39, Hill 1-5.
Buffalo: Diggs 6-46, Beasley 4-45, Singletary 1-13, Davis 1-7, Kroft 1-7, McKenzie 1-4.

MISSSED FIELD GOALS

Buffalo: Bass 52.

Cardinals 38, Cowboys 10

CARDINALS	0	21	7	10 — 38
COWBOYS	0	3	0	7 — 10

SECOND QUARTER

Arizona: Kirk 6 pass from K.Murray (Gonzalez kick), 12:58.
Arizona: Drake 10 run (Gonzalez kick), 10:31.
Arizona: Kirk 80 pass from K.Murray (Gonzalez kick), 4:43.
Dallas: FG Zuerlein 34, 1:10.

THIRD QUARTER

Arizona: K.Murray 1 run (Gonzalez kick), 7:53.

FOURTH QUARTER

Arizona: FG Gonzalez 26, 8:54.
Dallas: Cooper 1 pass from Dalton (Zuerlein kick), 2:48.
Arizona: Drake 69 run (Gonzalez kick), 1:49.
Attendance: 25,174.

	CARDINALS	COWBOYS
First Downs	22	27
Total Net Yards	438	344
Rushes-Yards	35-261	27-97
Passing	1-1	2-1
Punt Returns	1-77	2-41
Kickoff Returns	0-0	1-0
Interceptions Ret.	2-0	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	9-24-0	34-54-2
Sacked-Yards Lost	1-11	3-19
Punts	4-37.8	3-43.3
Fumbles-Lost	0-0	3-2
Penalties-Yards	7-43	6-36
Time Of Possession	26:23	33:37

RUSHING

Arizona: Drake 20-164, K.Murray 10-74, Edmonds 5-23.
Dallas: Elliott 12-49, Pollard 10-31, Dowdle 3-13, Dalton 2-4.

Arizona: K.Murray 9-24-0-188.
Dallas: Dalton 34-54-2-266.

RECEIVING

Arizona: Fitzgerald 3-22, Kirk 2-86, Hopkins 2-73, Edmonds 1-6, Daniels 1-1.
Dallas: Elliott 8-31, Cooper 7-79, Lamb 7-64, Schultz 4-35, Gallup 2-23, N.Brown 2-15, C.Wilson 2-10, Pollard 2-9.

MISSSED FIELD GOALS

Dallas: Zuerlein 58.

GOLF

World Golf Ranking

Through Sunday		
1. Dustin Johnson	USA	10.15
2. Jon Rahm	ESP	9.62
3. Justin Thomas	USA	8.48
4. Collin Morikawa	USA	7.60
5. Rory McIlroy	NIR	7.54
6. Bryson DeChambeau	USA	7.40
7. Xander Schauffele	USA	7.18
8. Webb Simpson	USA	7.01
9. Tyrrell Hatton	ENG	6.26
10. Patrick Reed	USA	6.00
11. Brooks Koepka	USA	5.55
12. Matthew Wolff	USA	4.96
13. Daniel Berger	USA	4.89
14. Patrick Cantlay	USA	4.82
15. Adam Scott	AUS	4.81
16. Tommy Fleetwood	ENG	4.70
17. Tony Finau	USA	4.50
18. Louis Oosthuizen	SAF	4.27
19. Matthew Fitzpatrick	ENG	4.23
20. Hideki Matsuyama	JPN	4.01
21. Abraham Ancer	MEX	3.94
22. Paul Casey	ENG	3.89
23. Sungjae Im	KOR	3.81
24. Viktor Hovland	NOR	3.62
25. Justin Rose	ENG	3.57

BASEBALL

MLB playoffs

NATIONAL LEAGUE FIRST-ROUND SERIES

Best of three

DODGERS ELIMINATED BREWERS, 2-0

Game 1: at Los Angeles 4, Milwaukee 2
Game 2: at Los Angeles 3, Milwaukee 0
Buffalo: FG Bass 48, 5:42.
Kansas City: Kelce 11 pass from Mahomes (Butker kick), 3:05.

BRAVES ELIMINATED REDS, 2-0

Game 1: at Atlanta 1, Cincinnati 0 (13)
Game 2: at Atlanta 5, Cincinnati 0
Buffalo: Diggs 4 pass from Allen (Bass kick), 11:22.
Kansas City: Kelce 12 pass from Mahomes (kick failed), 4:56.

MARLINS ELIMINATED CUBS, 2-0

Game 1: Miami 5, at Chicago 1
Game 2: Miami 2, at Chicago 0
Padres: Digs 4 pass from Allen (Bass kick), 11:22.
Kansas City: Kelce 12 pass from Mahomes (kick failed), 4:56.

PADRES ELIMINATED CARDINALS, 2-1

Game 1: St. Louis 7, at San Diego 4
Game 2: at San Diego 11, St. Louis 9
Game 3: at San Diego 4, St. Louis 0

AMERICAN LEAGUE FIRST-ROUND SERIES

Best of three

RAVS ELIMINATED BLUE JAYS, 2-0

Game 1: at Tampa Bay 3, Toronto 1
Game 2: at Tampa Bay 8, Toronto 2
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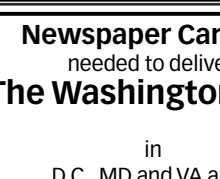
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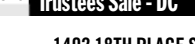
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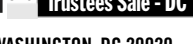
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Trustees Sale - DC



Trustees Sale - DC

1402 18TH PLACE SE, WASHINGTON, DC 20020

In execution of the Superior Court for the District of Columbia's Decree of Sale in Case #2019 CA 004397 R (RP), the undersigned Substitute Trustee(s) will offer for sale the property known as 1402 18TH PLACE SE, WASHINGTON, DC 20020 at public auction within the offices of, HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC., 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 On **NOVEMBER 17, 2020 AT 10:00 A.M.**, the land and premises situated in the District of Columbia, and designated as and being Lot 20 in Square 5567 and more particularly described in the Deed of Trust recorded in the Land Records of the District of Columbia, on OCTOBER 22, 2018 as Instrument Number 2018105630.

The property will be sold by Trustee's Deed "as is" without any covenant, expressed or implied, in Fee Simple, subject to conditions, restrictions, easements, and all other recorded instruments superior to the Deed of Trust referenced above, and subject to ratification by the Court.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of the lesser of \$38,000.00 or 10% of the sale price will be required at time of sale in certified funds CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for the Noteholder and any of its successors or assigns. The Noteholder may bid up to the credit and may submit a written bid to the Trustee which shall be announced at bid. The balance of the purchase price is to be paid in cash within 30 days of final ratification of the sale by the Court.



Montgomery County



Montgomery County

850 BWV Law Group, LLC
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

**8307 SHADY SPRING DR.
GAITHERSBURG, MD 20877**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated February 28, 2006, recorded in Liber 31919, Folio 254 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with original principal balance of \$375,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

OCTOBER 23, 2020 AT 2:05 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$43,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for recapture of homesteaded tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title, if they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. BIDDERS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO FOLLOW CDC GUIDANCE AND WEAR A COVER OVER BOTH NOSE AND MOUTH AND PRACTICE SOCIAL DISTANCING AT THE AUCTION. (Matter No. 173432-2)

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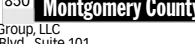
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Montgomery County



Montgomery County

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Rockville, MD 20852
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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

**11301 RIVER RD.
POTOMAC, MD 20854**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated April 9, 2004, recorded in Liber 29504, Folio 458 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with original principal balance of \$1,100,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

NOVEMBER 6, 2020 AT 11:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$108,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for recapture of homesteaded tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title, if they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. BIDDERS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO FOLLOW CDC GUIDANCE AND WEAR A COVER OVER BOTH NOSE AND MOUTH AND PRACTICE SOCIAL DISTANCING AT THE AUCTION. (Matter No. 173432-1)

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Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al., Substitute Trustees

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Prince Georges County



Prince Georges County

851 Samuel I. White, P.C.
596 Lynnhaven Parkway, Suite 200
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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY**

KNOWN AS

**4303 Fairway View Court
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772**

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to B. GEORGE BALLMAN, Trustee(s), dated July 16, 2004, and recorded among the Land Records of **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND** in Liber 20257, folio 341, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

NOVEMBER 5, 2020 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NO. TWENTY-ONE (21), BLOCK SEVENTEEN (17), AS SHOWN ON THE PLAT ENTITLED "SECTION THREE (3), PART OF BLOCKS SEVENTEEN (17), EIGHTEEN (18) & TWENTY (20), MARLBORO MEADOWS," WHICH PLAT IS RECORDED AMONG THE PLAT RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY IN PLAT BOOK NO. 64, FOLIO 96.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to MD Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY by certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 3.43% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

Trustee's File No. (72540)

**JOHN E. DISCOLLI III, et al
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES**

HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, LLC
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Frederick County



Frederick County

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(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

**12509 MOLASSES RD.
UNION BRIDGE, MD 21791**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated October 24, 2002, recorded in Liber 3562, Folio 153 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with original principal balance of \$132,400.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

OCTOBER 30, 2020 AT 10:46 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$12,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homesteaded tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title, if they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. BIDDERS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO FOLLOW CDC GUIDANCE AND WEAR A COVER OVER BOTH NOSE AND MOUTH AND PRACTICE SOCIAL DISTANCING AT THE AUCTION. (Matter No. 192771-1)

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Oct 13, Oct 20 & Oct 27 12321927

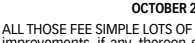
TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE: If purchaser fails to settle within the aforesaid THIRTY (30) days of the ratification, the purchaser agrees to pay the Substitute Trustee's reasonable attorney fees as ordered by the Court, plus all costs incurred, if the Substitute Trustee has filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. Purchaser waives personal service to any paper filed with the Court in connection with such motion and any Show Cause Order issued by the Court and expressly agrees to accept service of any such paper or Order by certified mail and regular mail sent to the address provided by the purchaser and as recorded on the documents executed by the purchaser at the time of the sale. Service shall be deemed effective upon the purchaser 3 days after postmarked by the United States Post Office. It is expressly agreed by the purchaser that actual receipt of the certified mail is not required for service to be effective. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement the deposit shall be forfeited to the Substitute Trustee(s) and all expenses of this sale (including attorney fees and full commission on the gross sales price of the sale) shall be charged against and paid from the forfeited deposit. In the event of resale the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property regardless of any improvements made to the real property. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the Substitute Trustee(s). In the event that the settlement is delayed for ANY REASON WHATSOEVER, there shall be no abatement of interest. Taxes, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for the costs of all transfer taxes, documentary stamps and all other costs incident to settlement. Purchaser shall be responsible for physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss from the date of sale forward. The sale is subject to post sale audit by the Mortgage holder to determine whether the borrower filed bankruptcy, entered into any repayment/forbearance agreement, reinstated or paid off prior to the sale. In any such event the Purchaser agrees that upon notification by the Substitute Trustee(s) of such event the sale is null and void and of no legal effect and the deposit returned without interest.

Substitute Trustee's File No. 20-006182

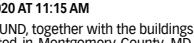
**JAMES E. CLARKE AND HUGH J. GREEN
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE(S)
C/O ORLANDS PC
1602 Village Market Blvd SE, Suite 310
Leesburg, VA 20175
(703) 777-7101**

HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.
5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Ste 440
Washington, DC 20015
(202) 463-4567
www.hwstauctions.com

OCTOBER 20, 27, NOVEMBER 3, 10, 2020 12321506



Montgomery County



Montgomery County

102115 Acres of Land, between Old Columbia Pike and Columbia Pike, North of the National and the Utility Right of Way)

**TAX ID 405-00272438, DINO DRIVE
(S 7287-2 Acres of Land, at the
Southwest Corner of Valley Stream Ave.)
Burtonsville, MD 20866**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Burtonville Crossing, LLC and Eldertowne Land, LLC, dated May 2018 and recorded in Liber 50687, folio 216 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Substitute Trustee(s) will offer for sale the property known as 102115 Acres of Land, between Old Columbia Pike and Columbia Pike, North of the National and the Utility Right of Way) and

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Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Burtonville Crossing, LLC and Eldertowne Land, LLC, dated May 2018 and recorded in Liber 50687,

856 Frederick County

BWW Law Group, LLC
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON
212 THIRD AVE. A/R/T/A 212 3RD AVE.
BRUNSWICK, MD 21716

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated August 28, 2017, recorded in Liber 12018, Folio 114 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$227,272.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

OCTOBER 30, 2020 AT 10:45 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$22,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homesteaded tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners' association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. BIDDERS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO FOLLOW CDC GUIDANCE AND WEAR A COVER OVER BOTH NOSE AND MOUTH AND PRACTICE SOCIAL DISTANCING AT THE AUCTION. (Matter No. 341331-1) PLEASE CONSULT WWW.ALEXCOOPER.COM FOR STATUS OF UPCOMING SALES

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al., Substitute Trustees

ALEX COOPER AUCTIONS, INC.
908 YORK RD., TOWSON, MD 21204
410-828-4838 www.alexcooper.com

Oct 13, Oct 20 & Oct 27

12321926

856 Frederick County

BWW Law Group, LLC
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON
51 SECOND AVE.
A/R/T/A 51 2ND AVE.
EMMITSBURG, MD 21727

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated March 29, 2012, recorded in Liber 8924, Folio 8 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$172,407.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

OCTOBER 23, 2020 AT 10:45 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$11,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homesteaded tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners' association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. BIDDERS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO FOLLOW CDC GUIDANCE AND WEAR A COVER OVER BOTH NOSE AND MOUTH AND PRACTICE SOCIAL DISTANCING AT THE AUCTION. (Matter No. 338090-1) PLEASE CONSULT WWW.ALEXCOOPER.COM FOR STATUS OF UPCOMING SALES

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al., Substitute Trustees

ALEX COOPER AUCTIONS, INC.
908 YORK RD., TOWSON, MD 21204
410-828-4838 www.alexcooper.com

Oct 6, Oct 13 & Oct 20

12321301

872 Fairfax County

2403 Sugarberry Court
Reston (Fairfax County), VA 20191
Tax Map ID No. 0264-12010001

Under a power of sale contained in that certain Purchase Money Deed of Trust ("Deed of Trust") dated March 11, 2019 and recorded on March 12, 2019 in Deed Book 25679 at Page 2189, from BGF Services, LLC, as grantor, to Daniel Huerfano ("Original Trustee"), as trustee, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and pursuant to a Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustee removing Original Trustee as trustee under the Deed of Trust and appointing PARDO DRAZIN AUCTIONEERS LLC ("Substitute Trustee"), a Virginia limited liability company, as successor trustee under the Deed of Trust, the Substitute Trustee will sell at public auction at the front door of the Circuit Court of Fairfax County, Virginia, 4110 Chain Bridge Road, Fairfax, VA 22030, on

OCTOBER 29, 2020 AT 9:30 AM

ALL THAT FEE-SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND AND THE IMPROVEMENTS THEREON situated in Fairfax County, Virginia, and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust, as well as ALL PERSONAL PROPERTY encumbered by the Deed of Trust collectively, "Property".

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of ten per centum of the sale price will be required of the purchaser ("Purchaser") at the time and place of sale. The deposit must be paid in cash or certified funds within twenty (20) days of the date of sale. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate then applicable to the indebtedness secured by the Deed of Trust from the date of sale to the date of settlement. The party secured herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest. The Purchaser shall settle within twenty (20) days of the date of sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY THE PURCHASER. In the event that the Purchaser does not settle as required for any reason, the Purchaser shall be in default. The defaulting Purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property, and the deposit shall be forfeited to the Substitute Trustee and all of the expenses of this sale (including attorneys' fees and full commission on the gross sale price) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit, with any remaining balance of the forfeited deposit applied to the indebtedness secured by the Deed of Trust. In the event settlement is delayed for any reason including, but not limited to, exceptions to the sale, bankruptcy filings by interested parties, court administration of the foreclosure, or unknown title defects, there shall be no abatement of interest. Taxes, ground rent, water and all public charges, if applicable and constituting a lien upon the Property, are to be adjusted for the current year to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the Purchaser. Cost of all documentary stamps, recordation taxes, transfer taxes and settlement expenses shall be borne by the Purchaser.

The Property will be sold in an "AS IS" condition and subject to recorded covenants, conditions, restrictions, and agreements, if any, and to recorded liens senior to the Deed of Trust, if any, and with no warranty of any kind (except as required by the Deed of Trust).

If the Substitute Trustee is unable to convey title as aforesaid, the Purchaser's sole remedy at law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect.

The Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the Property. The Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the Property from the date of sale forward.

The Substitute Trustee reserves the right, in the Substitute Trustee's sole discretion, to reject any and all bids, to withdraw the Property from sale at any time before or at the auction, to extend the time to receive bids, to waive or modify the deposit requirement, to waive or modify the requirement that interest be paid on the unpaid purchase money, and/or to extend the period of time for settlement.

Additional terms may be announced at the sale. The Purchaser will be required to execute and deliver to the Substitute Trustee a memorandum or contract of the sale at the conclusion of bidding.

Pardo Drazin Auctioneers LLC, Substitute Trustee

FOR INFORMATION, CONTACT:
PARDO & DRAZIN, LLC
Russell S. Drazin, Attorney
4400 Jennifer Street, NW, Suite 2
Washington, DC 20015
(202) 223-7900
www.pardodrazin.com

October 20, 27, 2020

12322447

878 Stafford County

908 PINNACLE DRIVE,
STAFFORD, VA 22554

By virtue of the power and authority contained in a Deed of Trust dated July 31, 2019 and recorded at Instrument Number LR 190012930 in the Clerk's Office for the Circuit Court for Stafford County, securing a loan which was originally \$245,000.00. The appointed SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE, SBT Trustees, LLC will offer for sale at public auction at the front steps of the Circuit Court for Stafford County, VA at 1300 Courthouse Drive, Stafford, VA 22554 on:

OCTOBER 27, 2020 at 1:00 PM

improved real property, with an abbreviated legal description of All that certain lot or parcel of land with improvements thereon and appurtenances thereto appertaining, lying and being situated in the County of Stafford, VA and more particularly described as follows: Lot 46, as shown on that certain plat entitled "Plat of Subdivision of HIGHPOINTE" prepared by Rinker-Detwiler & Associates, P.C. dated January 19, 1989 and revised July 10, 1989, said plat being recorded in Plat Book 19 at Pages 242 to 249 in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of Stafford County, Virginia, and as more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

TERMS OF SALE: The property will be sold "AS IS," WITHOUT REPRESENTATION OR WARRANTY OF ANY KIND AND SUBJECT TO conditions, restrictions, reservations, easements, rights of way and all other matters of record taking priority over the Deed of Trust to be announced at the time of sale. A deposit of \$20,000.00, or 10% of the sale price, whichever is lower, in cash or cashier's check payable to the SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE will be required at the time of sale. The balance of the purchase price, with interest at the rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date said funds are received in the office of the SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE, will be due within fifteen (15) days of sale. In the event of default by the successful bidder, the entire deposit shall be forfeited and applied to the costs and expenses of sale and Substitute Trustee's fee. All other public charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, whether incurred prior to or after the sale, and all other costs incident to settlement to be paid by the Purchaser. In the event taxes, any other public charges have been advanced, a credit will be due to the seller, to be adjusted from the date of sale at the time of settlement. If Purchaser requests counsel for Substitute Trustee to draft any settlement documents including but not limited to a deed, a fee of \$350.00 shall be paid. Seller shall not be responsible for any costs incurred by the purchaser in connection with the purchase or settlement, including without limitation, sales and local recording fees, title insurance or research, or any other costs of purchaser's acquisition. Trustee shall have no duty to obtain possession for purchaser. All risks of casualty shall remain with the seller until conclusion of bidding. In the event the sale is legally null and void, the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the Purchaser's deposit without interest.

Additional terms will be announced at the time of sale and the successful bidder will be required to execute and deliver to the Substitute Trustee a memorandum or contract of the sale at the conclusion of bidding. The Substitute Trustee is SBT Trustees, LLC, 9097 Alee Station Road, Suite 218, Mechanicsville, VA 23116. For information contact: Diana C. Theologou at 301-468-4990; dtheologou@silvermanlegal.com.

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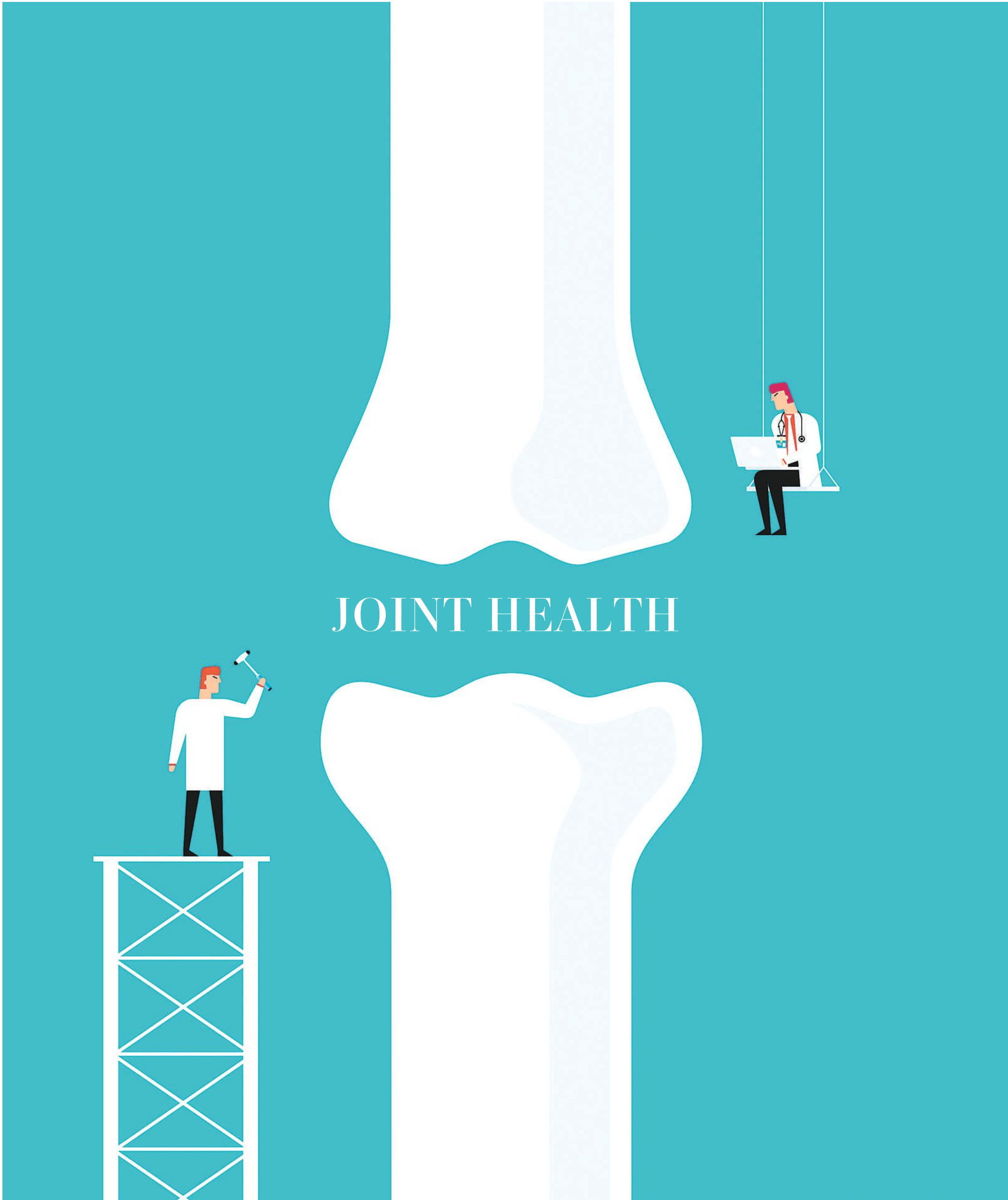
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THE WASHINGTON POST/ISTOCK

Keeping active helps manage joint pain

BY CHRISTIE ASCHWANDEN

Your knees ache, your neck cracks or maybe there's a twinge in your hip. If you're suffering from painful joints, you're not alone. Genetics, obesity and prior injury can predispose someone to joint pain, but arthritis is by far the most common cause, and more than 54 million Americans experience some form of it, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Osteoarthritis is the most common type, and it happens when the cartilage in the joint breaks down and the surrounding bone develops inflammation. Osteoarthritis becomes more common with age, but you don't have to just grit your teeth and suffer through it, says Jason McDougall, a professor at Dalhousie University in Canada who specializes in arthritis and pain research.

SEE JOINT PAIN ON E5

New procedure can regenerate injured cartilage

BY MARLENE CIMONS

Matt Oates, 41, ran competitive track and cross-country in high school and college, then kept on running. On New Year's Day 2018, he resolved to run every day that year, and he did — a total of 2,435 miles, including 14 half-marathons. He has had a few injuries, most of them minor, except in 2005 when he tore the ACL — the anterior cruciate ligament — in his right knee while playing indoor volleyball. He recovered from surgery, and resumed running.

In 2019, however, he slipped and fell while frolicking with his young nephew in a natural waterfall during a Memorial Day outing at Georgia's Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park. "I didn't think too much of it at the time," says Oates, who lives in Raleigh, N.C., where he manages a moving-and-storage com-

SEE CARTILAGE ON E4

Knuckle cracking isn't a totally harmless habit

BY KATHERINE ELLISON

Ignoring generations of parents who've warned that knuckle cracking is bad for you, between 20 and 54 percent of Americans continue to engage in this annoying nervous habit. Many have been reassured by repeated clinical reports over the decades that there is no strong evidence that knuckle cracking causes arthritis. A 2018 Harvard Medical School blog went so far as to pronounce the practice "harmless."

"Harmless" is overstating it, however, argue experts who have studied the fine print of the research. Even as there's no strong link to arthritis — specifically osteoarthritis, the degeneration of the cartilage cushioning the ends of bones — cracking knuckles, they conclude, may still harm your hands.

Seattle neurosurgeon Rod Oskouian is the most recent researcher to jump into

SEE KNUCKLES ON E4

Why you're likely to sprain the same ankle again

BY MARLENE CIMONS

When it comes to sports injuries, ankle sprains head the list. About 25,000 occur every day in the United States. But you don't need to be running or kicking a ball to sprain an ankle. All it takes is a misstep off a curb, down a flight of stairs — or even just walking across an uneven surface.

What's worse, once you've had one, you are inclined to sprain the same ankle repeatedly unless you do exercises to strengthen it. The biggest risk of suffering an ankle sprain is having had one in that ankle already.

The reason for this is the weakening of what's known as proprioception. It's a phenomenon that affects all of our joints, directing the body's intuitive ability to know where it is in time and space — such as being able to touch your finger to your

SEE ANKLE SPRAIN ON E5





Price Lake along the Blue Ridge Parkway in North Carolina with Grandfather Mountain in the background, seen in October 2016, features maples and birches along the shore. Scientists say the long-term effects of climate change on fall colors are already apparent.

Climate change affects fall foliage

Human-driven global warming may also shape the forest colors of the future, scientists say

BY KAT LONG

In the 19th century, eastern forests looked very different. Huge American chestnut trees, their trunks up to 10 feet in diameter, dominated forests from Maine to Mississippi. Their bright yellow foliage gilded Appalachia every autumn.

Then, a shipment of imported trees arrived in New York in 1876 carrying a stowaway: *Cryphonectria parasitica*, a fungus native to Asia. Within a few decades, the fungal blight wiped out hundreds of millions of chestnuts. Oaks, hickories and red maples took over, turning yellow autumn forests more scarlet and bronze.

The pattern continues as human activities transform not just the health and composition of forests, but their colors, too. Introduced pests, pathogens and invasive species are causing immediate changes to the fall color palette. And scientists are beginning to see a framework for how climate change may shape the forest colors of the future.

“These species have been adapting for millions of years, and we’re putting them through a stress test in a very short period of time. It’s shocking their system,” said Tanisha M. Williams, the Burpee postdoctoral fellow in botany at Bucknell University. “But they are adapting.”

Autumn’s longer nights and cooler days kick-start the seasonal color change, known as leaf senescence. Trees respond to the difference in temperature, precipitation and light by slowing photosynthesis. As the chlorophyll — the energy-producing compound that makes leaves green — breaks down, new chemical compounds emerge. Carotenoids, the same pigments in car-

rots and buttercups, make leaves appear orange, yellow and amber. Some tree species also produce anthocyanins, compounds found in blueberries and grapes, giving leaves red, purple and burgundy tones.

But wildly multicolored forests are under threat. Foreign pests and pathogens, arriving unnoticed in imported lumber or even packing materials, can alter whole landscapes in a short time, said Howard Neufeld, a plant ecophysiologicalist at Appalachian State University.

“We’re putting them through a stress test in a very short period of time. It’s shocking their system. But they are adapting.”

Tanisha M. Williams, Bucknell University

“They can take out trees, and if other trees come in that are different colors, that can have a dramatic effect,” he said. Under the moniker “Fall Color Guy,” Neufeld issues foliage color reports on the university’s website and on Facebook.

For example, an insect called the hemlock woolly adelgid has been wiping out Eastern hemlocks, a dark-green conifer, since the 1980s. The emerald ash borer, a pest arriving in wooden packing crates less than 20 years ago, decimates ash trees that normally turn yellow and burgundy. Both can quickly convert trees from dazzling to drab.

Weather patterns also affect when the leaves grow, turn color and fall off, Williams said. Moderate heat and drought extend the growing season and delay leaf senescence. But extreme drought exacerbated by high heat — the exact conditions in New England this summer — can accelerate senescence, causing leaves to change earlier and faster.

In some years, “some trees will continue to turn color early; others will delay and turn color later,” Neufeld said. “So instead of having this explosion of color in a short period of time, you get different groups of trees turning color over an extended time.”

Stressed trees may also fail to produce anthocyanins in their leaves, and go from greenish to brown without passing red. It’s hard to predict because of different species’ drought tolerance, said Amanda Gallinat, a postdoctoral fellow and plant ecologist at Utah State University. “Maples are often more sensitive to drought than oaks. Since maples contribute brighter colors than oaks, these different responses could lead to a less colorful autumn landscape,” she said.

Scientists say the long-term effects of climate change on fall colors are already apparent.

Warming temperatures tend to help invasive species, Gallinat said. Because they tend to come from places with milder winters than the eastern United States, they readily adapt to the longer growing season and remain an active threat for more of the year.

Invasive shrubs are overwhelming forest understories and adding more red tones with their leaves and fruit, she said. Pests and pathogens may continue to ramp up their attacks on certain species and allow others

to take over, shifting the fall palette.

And as the climate gets warmer and drier, forests in New England that appear mostly red and orange today might not stay that way.

“If the forest changes from having maples and sourwoods and black gums, which are the red trees, to one that’s oak and hickory, then you’re going to get less colorful,” Neufeld said.

Some species are already on the move toward more genial habitats. A 2008 study found hardwoods in Vermont, such as the iconic sugar maple, had migrated upslope to cooler territory occupied by red spruce and paper birch, both of which had declined.

Sugar maples have also tried to move northward to Canada as temperatures rise, Gallinat said. But like many plants, the trees are limited in their ability to survive in colder climates. “It’s most likely that the vibrant colors those trees give us — not to mention the syrup — will be in shorter supply in the future,” she said.

The emerging tree communities — and their color combinations — have no precedent.

“If we see the migration of these trees, the fall colors are going to look different, because we’re going to have a completely different species landscape,” Williams said.

There’s no need to panic about subpar pigments over the next few decades, Neufeld said, but leaf-peepers should be ready for change.

“I don’t think we have to worry, in the immediate future, that we won’t be able to see fall colors,” he said. “We’ll just see different fall colors. And maybe at a different time.”

health-science@washpost.com

SCIENCE NEWS

NASA has released new moon guidelines: No fighting, littering or trespassing

NASA’s new moonshot rules: No fighting and littering. And no trespassing at historic lunar landmarks like Apollo 11’s Tranquility Base.

The space agency released a set of guidelines last week for its Artemis moon-landing program, based on the 1967 Outer Space Treaty and other agreements. So far, eight countries have signed these Artemis Accords.

Founding members include the United States, Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, United Arab Emirates and Britain. NASA Administrator Jim Bridenstine said he expects more countries to join the effort to put astronauts back on the moon by 2024.

It promises to be the largest coalition for a human spaceflight program in history, according to Bridenstine, and is expected to pave the way for eventual Mars expeditions.

It’s important not only to travel to the moon “with our astronauts, but that we bring with us our values,” noted NASA’s acting chief for international and interagency relations, Mike Gold.

Rule No. 1: Everyone must come in peace. Other rules:

- Secrecy is banned, and all launched objects need to be identified and registered.
- All members agree to pitch in

with astronaut emergencies.

- Space systems must be universal so that everyone’s equipment is compatible, and scientific data must be shared.

- Historic sites must be preserved, and any resulting space junk must be properly disposed.

- Rovers and other spacecraft cannot have their missions jeopardized by others getting too close.

Violators could be asked to leave, according to Bridenstine.

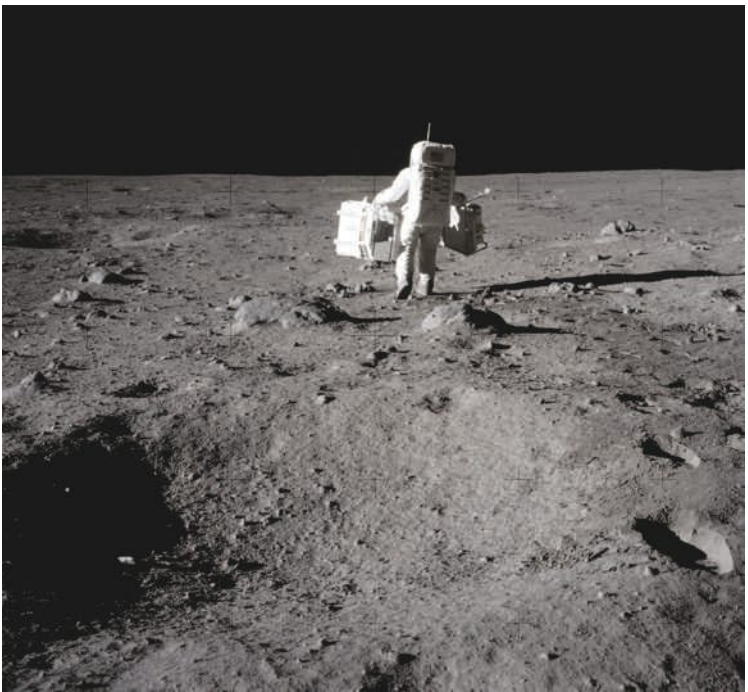
The coalition can say, “Look, you’re in this program with the rest of us, but you’re not playing by the same rules,” Bridenstine said.

The United States is the only country to put humans on the moon: 12 men from 1969 through 1972.

Russia is still on the fence. The country’s space agency chief, Dmitry Rogozin, said at an International Astronautical Congress virtual meeting that the Artemis program is U.S.-centric and he would prefer a model of cooperation akin to the International Space Station.

China, meanwhile, is out altogether. NASA is prohibited under law, at least for now, from signing any bilateral agreements with China.

— Associated Press



NEIL ARMSTRONG/NASA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Buzz Aldrin carries equipment to the deployment area on the surface of the moon at Tranquility Base on July 20, 1969. NASA released a set of guidelines for its Artemis moon-landing program, based on the 1967 Outer Space Treaty and other agreements.

SCIENCE SCAN

SPACE

Citizen science project puts people to work classifying photos of the Red Planet

Mars may be our nearest planetary neighbor, but there’s much to learn about how it formed, whether it ever hosted life and what its climate and topography are really like.

To figure out some of those secrets, NASA’s exploration rovers wander about its rocky, chilly surface.

But all that harsh terrain can hamper expensive, critical rover missions — or consign them to doom. So NASA is recruiting regular people to help create a way for rovers to figure out if they’re in danger.

AI4Mars, a citizen science project, puts users to work classifying photos of the Red Planet’s sandy, dusty surface. It was designed to help NASA’s Mars rovers identify hazardous terrain.

Participants comb through images of Mars’ surface and label sandy, soily and rocky terrain and ID big rocks. The data will be used to train neural networks that will eventually help current and future Mars rovers figure out where it’s safe to drive in a system similar to the one self-

AI4Mars
Citizen science project

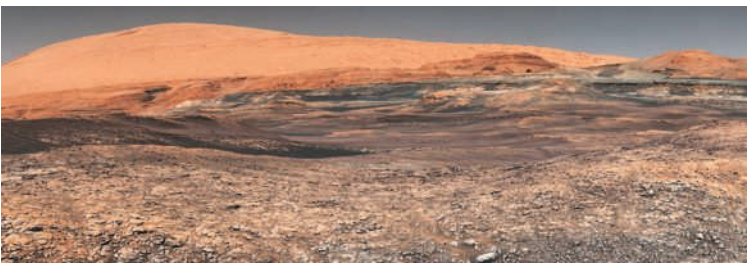
driving cars use to avoid road hazards.

Doing so could help NASA’s Curiosity and Perseverance rovers, and future Mars exploration machines, avoid the fate of Spirit, a Mars rover that got stuck in soft soil after six years of tooling around the Red Planet. Though Spirit outlasted the 90-day mission scientists had initially planned, it might have lasted far longer if not for the inhospitable Martian terrain. Instead, it was marooned, and an attempt to turn it into a stationary science platform failed.

AI4Mars is overseen by researchers from the NASA Jet Propulsion Laboratory, but the vast majority of team members are ordinary folks at home.

Thus far, about 7,400 volunteers have classified over 60,000 chunks of terrain — and you can help. Visit bit.ly/AI4Mars to join in.

— Erin Blakemore



NASA/JPL-CALTECH/MSSS

This mosaic, taken by the Mars Curiosity rover, looks uphill at Mount Sharp. Spanning the center of the image is an area with clay-bearing rocks that scientists are eager to explore.

HEALTH & SCIENCE

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— Associated Press

40-year-old cells used to clone endangered horse

SAN DIEGO — Little Kurt looks like any other baby horse as he frolics playfully in his pen. He isn’t afraid to kick or head-butt an intruder who gets in his way and, when he’s hungry, dashes over to his mother for milk.

But 2-month-old Kurt differs from every other baby horse of his kind in one distinct way: He’s a clone.

The rare, endangered Przewalski’s horse was created from cells taken from a stallion that had sat frozen at the San Diego Zoo for 40 years before they were fused with an egg from a domestic horse.

With the egg’s nucleus removed, ensuring Kurt would be basically all Przewalski’s horse, they were implanted in the mare who would become his mom on Aug. 6.

The result, officials say, was the world’s first cloned Przewalski’s horse.

The zoo sees his birth as a milestone in efforts to restore the population of the horse also known as the Asiatic Wild Horse or Mongolian Wild Horse. The small, stocky animals (they stand only about 4 to 5 feet tall at the withers) are believed extinct in the wild and number only about 2,000 in zoos and wildlife habitats. Their limited gene pool puts them at a reproductive disadvantage.



CHRISTINA SIMMONS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kurt is the world’s first cloned Przewalski’s horse. He was born at a veterinary facility in Texas where he’ll live for another year.

“This colt is expected to be one of the most genetically important individuals of his species,” Bob Wiese, chief life sciences officer at San Diego Zoo Global, which operates the zoo, said in a statement. “We are hopeful that he will bring back genetic variation important for the future of the Przewalski’s horse population.”

Although only 2 months old, Kurt’s birth was made possible in 1980 when cells were taken from a 5-year-old stallion and put in deep freeze at San Diego’s Frozen

Zoo facility. His father died in 1998.

Kurt was named for Kurt Benirschke, who played a key role in founding the Frozen Zoo with its extensive research program and cell cultures.

“A central tenet of the Frozen Zoo, when it was established by Dr. Benirschke, was that it would be used for purposes not possible at the time,” said Oliver Ryder, director of genetics at San Diego Zoo Global.

The zoo worked in collabora-

THE BIG NUMBER

3 decibels

U.S. residents have experienced a quieter world in recent months — about 3 decibels quieter than usual, according to University of Michigan research that compared noise levels in the environment before and after coronavirus-related social distancing and lockdown requirements took effect. That represents about a 50 percent drop in environmental noise exposure, according to the study, published in the journal Environmental Research Letters.

Environmental noise stems from such sources as traffic (cars, buses, trains, planes), commerce and industry, construction, sporting events, partying, dining and more. The study involved 5,894 adults (in California, Florida, New York and Texas) who were equipped with devices that recorded data on the sounds they were exposed to for roughly 90 days in spring 2020. Participants in New York experienced the largest reduction in sound, and Florida participants experienced the smallest. The overall drop brought the average environmental sound level below the level generally considered to carry health risks. Noise-induced hearing loss is the most common health problem related to sounds, but chronic exposure to loud noise also has been linked to hypertension, sleep problems, memory problems and more. The ability of sound to cause health problems depends not just on how loud the sound is but also on how long you are exposed to it. The pandemic's worldwide effect on noise was noted in a recent study in the journal Science. It found a 50 percent reduction in human-generated noise around the globe, based on data from earthquake detection equipment and attributed to changes in people's activity since the novel coronavirus hit.

— Linda Searing

HEALTH NEWS

I'm allergic to the flu shot. What can I do to take precautions during flu season and pandemic?

Q: Are there specific precautions I can take to counter the fact that I'm allergic to the flu shot? I'm worried, and I assume others in my situation are as well.

Linda in Florida

A: Health experts have told us over and over that it is especially important this year to get a flu shot because of the pandemic. They want to prevent a bad flu season, which, combined with coronavirus outbreaks, could overwhelm hospitals.

We've recently gotten several questions about egg allergies and vaccines, some of them related to the flu shot and others to a potential coronavirus inoculation. Most flu vaccines are developed in eggs, which means there could be some lingering egg protein in the shot you receive.

The first thing you should do is talk to your doctor to see whether you actually cannot receive a flu shot. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention says having an egg allergy that is severe enough to prevent you from getting a vaccine is exceedingly rare.

Even people with such a severe allergy that they have "required epinephrine or another emergency medical intervention" from a previous reaction to eggs can still

get any licensed flu vaccine, according to the CDC. It should be administered in a medical setting such as a physician's office, clinic, health department or hospital, so you can be monitored for a reaction and treated, if necessary.

You could ask your doctor about two licensed flu vaccines for this season that the CDC says are egg-free: Flublok Quadrivalent and Flucelvax Quadrivalent.

There is one circumstance in which the CDC recommends not getting a flu shot. "A person who has previously experienced a severe allergic reaction to flu vaccine, regardless of the component suspected of being responsible for the reaction, should not get a flu vaccine again," the agency wrote.

If you're one of those cases, Linda, you should be more mindful of spreading germs as the weather gets colder and protecting yourself from them — something we all should be doing, frankly. We have learned a lot from the past eight months. We're wearing masks now. We're washing our hands more and limiting close contact with other people. All of these things will also help decrease flu transmission in the fall and winter.

— Angela Fritz

HEALTH SCAN



BARNES FOUNDATION, MERION AND PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

Horace Pippin's 1940 painting "Supper Time." Pippin, a Black artist, regularly had his work branded as "primitive" and "tribal" by art critics.

ART

Weekly newsletter explores themes such as diversity in medicine, suffering and uncertainty

As humans, our health connects us to uncertainty, mortality, faith, autonomy and more.

So does art — and Rx/Museum, a thoughtful project that connects art and medicine, finds themes of health and humanity in both.

The project was developed by educators at Penn Medicine, the University of Pennsylvania and a variety of museums and art institutions throughout Philadelphia.

It's a thought-provoking prescription for reflection and learning, and you don't have to be an artist or a clinician to enjoy it.

Every Monday, the project sends subscribers an email that includes a piece of art work and a short essay that delves into challenging themes that connect the art to medicine. The essays are reflective and wide-ranging, covering uncertainty, death, suffering, salvation and more. Each is accompanied by a list of sources so that readers can learn more.

One recent newsletter included thoughts on permanence and the participation of AIDS patients in their own care tied to "Strange Fruit," an installation by artist Zoe Leonard that was exhibited at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1998. Another featured Henri

rxmuseum.org

Rousseau's "Woman Walking in an Exotic Forest" and tied it to questions of colonialism and diversity in medicine.

Contemplating Horace Pippin's 1940 painting "Supper Time," the team discusses cultural bias. Pippin, a Black artist who used his work to reflect on racism and slavery, regularly had his work branded as "primitive" and "tribal" by art critics. The essay connects the art world's disquieting reception to Pippin's work to clinicians' implicit biases and the use of terms like "noncompliant" or "unmotivated" to describe patients.

"We're trying to weave an interesting multidisciplinary lens of clinical medicine and anthropology and social justice," Lyndsay Hoy, assistant professor of clinical anesthesiology and critical care at Penn Medicine and the co-creator of the project, told the Daily Penn. Sign up to receive the weekly email yourself — or just tool around the intriguing list of themes the consortium has already explored — at rxmuseum.org.

— Erin Blakemore

FROM CONSUMER REPORTS

How to prevent and treat headaches

Headaches are the most common neurological symptoms we experience. And although they affect younger people at a higher rate, they still occur in many older adults.

In a 2018 survey, almost 10 percent of people between ages 65 and 74 — and about 6 percent of those 75 and older — said they had recently experienced a migraine or severe headache. For some, the familiar pain emerges twice a month or more.

Though headaches may be common, they should not be ignored or dismissed. Headaches sometimes signal more dangerous conditions — including some, such as a stroke, that must be addressed immediately. They can also be a symptom of covid-19, appearing in about a third of diagnosed patients in the United States. And even though most headaches do not require medical attention, there's no need to just grit your teeth and get through it.

Here is expert advice that can help you prevent and treat headaches more effectively and more safely.

Common types

There are about 200 types of headaches, says Juliette Preston, assistant professor of neurology at the OHSU School of Medicine and medical director of the university's headache center.

Two of the most common types are tension and migraine. Most tension headaches are mild to moderate, usually with pain on both sides of the head, and without any other major symptoms. According to an Italian study published in 2008, about a third of older adults experience at least one over the course of a year.

Migraines, on the other hand, generally involve moderate to severe head pain as well as an array of other symptoms, such as sensitivity to light or sound, nausea and temporary problems with cognition, says Niushen Zhang, a clinical assistant professor of neurology at Stanford University. Migraines can occur in men and women but are more frequent in women, often worsening during menopause and subsiding soon after.

If, however, you're 50 and older and experience what seems like your very first migraine, the probability that it is truly a migraine is relatively low. There may be another condition at work.

Similar symptoms can also point to what's known as a hypnic headache, which is rare but occurs most often in older adults. Its defining symptom? It wakes people from sleep at around the same time each night, which is why it's known as the "alarm clock headache."

Preventing frequent aches

Hypnic headaches are generally easier to manage than migraines. A little bit of caffeine before bed — about 40 to 60 mg in a tablet, or about a half-cup of brewed coffee — usually prevents them without keeping people up at night, Preston says. But don't try this without talking to your doctor first. Just be sure to mention the time of your headaches so that they are not mistaken for migraines.

Even for migraines and recurring tension headaches, however, don't reach for the meds right away. There is evidence that lifestyle changes can help prevent headaches, especially migraines. "Twenty minutes a day of aerobic exercise actually decreases migraine frequency and severity," Zhang says.

For many headache types, keeping consistent mealtimes, bedtimes and wake times can help, as can making sure you're staying hydrated by drinking plenty of water. For migraines, a



ISTOCK

neurologist can also help you identify possible triggers, such as dehydration.

In one classic study of people who experience migraines, most subjects reported at least one external factor that seemed to trigger their head pain. The most common triggers were stress, hormonal changes, fasting, weather and sleep disturbances.

In the past, trying to avoid all potential triggers was a popular strategy. But newer research suggests that many triggers can be hard to identify and impossible to avoid. And other studies have suggested that simply adhering to a healthy lifestyle — which would naturally include avoiding things such as toxic odors, hunger, dehydration, lack of sleep, etc. — may actually be more effective than trying to avoid all potential triggers, such as stress and noise.

Your doctor can also help connect you with other treatment options if basic interventions are not helping. For instance, there is strong evidence that physical therapy can help prevent tension-type headaches from returning. Acupuncture may help prevent frequent headaches, Zhang says. And research has also suggested that biofeedback — which typically uses electrical sensors on your body to make you aware of and help you control physiological processes — may reduce chronic pain, including from headaches.

Serious stress can also cause recurrent headaches. In those cases, cognitive behavioral therapy, or CBT, can help as well. Ask your doctor for a referral to a therapist who practices it.

Using meds properly

You should take medications with caution, especially if you get headaches regularly. But over-the-counter (OTC) or prescription medications can help ease the discomfort of both tension and migraine headaches.

Older adults are more sensitive to the effects of medications, Preston says. For pain relievers such as ibuprofen (Advil and generic), naproxen (Aleve and generic) and aspirin, side effects can include dizziness, cognitive issues and increased risk of gastrointestinal bleeding. So you should keep your use to a minimum. Acetaminophen (Tylenol and generic) is potentially safer for older adults but also may be somewhat less effective for headaches, according to UpToDate, a tool for doctors.

Be sure to follow dosing directions on the package. But if you are taking OTC pain meds regularly, that's not enough: You should also check with your primary care doctor and consider setting up an appointment with a neurologist to discuss your intake of these meds in more depth. In general, Zhang says, to protect yourself from what's known as a medication overuse headache, avoid taking pain relievers such as ibuprofen and naproxen more than 15 days per month. For some medications, however, you'll need to keep that number far lower, she cautions, which is why checking with your provider is important.

For people who get consistent headaches and can't tolerate OTC meds, doctors may also consider certain prescription pills, Preston says.

When to get emergency help

Occasionally, a headache requires immediate attention. When someone 50 and older experiences a type of headache that is different from one they have had before — even when it's a dull pain rather than explosive — that "is usually a red flag to us," Preston says.

And if it is accompanied by a change in hearing, prompts a feeling of weakness or numbness, or gets worse when you change positions — say, when you lie flat, stand up, exert yourself, or bear down — that's a sign to visit the emergency room.

"If it feels different, if it just doesn't feel right," trust your own judgment, Zhang says.

A doctor will try to rule out the most severe conditions that could be causing an odd-feeling headache, including aneurysm, stroke and other blood-vessel abnormalities; tumor; and an inflammatory disorder called giant cell arteritis, among other concerns.

But while it's important to be cautious, keep in mind that a new headache is sometimes just that: a headache.

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PERSPECTIVE

Dementia is more than occasionally forgetting

Memory loss happens as we age. Dementia is more multifaceted.

BY LAURIE ARCHBALD-PANNONE

The number of cases of dementia in the United States is rising as baby boomers age, raising questions for boomers themselves and also for their families, caregivers and society. Dementia, which is not technically a disease but a term for impaired ability to think, remember or make decisions, is one of the most feared impairments of old age.

Incidence increases dramatically as people move into their 90s. About 5 percent of those 71 to 79 have dementia, and about 37 percent of those about 90 live with it.

Older people may worry about their own loss of function as well as the cost and toll of caregiving for someone with dementia. A 2018 study estimated that the lifetime cost of care for a person with Alzheimer's, the most common form of dementia, to be \$329,360. That figure, too, will no doubt rise, putting even more burdens on family, Medicare and Medicaid.

There's also been a good deal of talk and reporting about dementia in recent months because of the presidential election. Some voters have asked whether one or both candidates might have dementia. But is this even a fair question to ask? When these types of questions are posed —



ISTOCK

When memory loss interferes with daily activities, see your doctor about what to do and how to make sure you're safe at home.

adding further stigma to people with dementia — it can unfairly further isolate them and those caring for them. We need to understand dementia and the impact it has on more than 5 million people in the United States who now live with dementia and their caregivers. That number is expected to triple by 2060.

First, it is important to know that dementia cannot be diagnosed from afar or by someone who is not a doctor. A person needs a detailed doctor's exam for a diagnosis. Sometimes, brain imaging is required.

And, forgetting an occasional word — or even where you put your keys — does not mean a person has dementia. There are different types of memory loss and they can have different causes, such as other medical conditions, falls or even medication, including herbals, supplements and anything over-the-counter.

Older people wonder and worry about "senior moments" and the memory loss they perceive in themselves and others. I see patients like this every week in my geriatric clinic, where they tell me their stories. They forget a word, get lost in a story, lose keys or can't remember a name. Details vary, but the underlying concern is the same: Is this dementia?

Normal memory loss

As we age, we experience many physical and cognitive changes. Older people often have a decrease in recall memory. This is normal.

Ever have trouble fetching a fact from the deep back part of your "mind's Rolodex"? Suppose you spot someone at the grocery store you haven't seen in years. Maybe you recognize the face, but don't remember their name until later that night. This is normal, part of the expected changes with aging.

What's more of a potential problem is forgetting the name of someone you see every day; forgetting how to get to a place you visit frequently; or having problems with your activities of daily living, like eating, dressing and

hygiene.

When you have troubles with memory — but they don't interfere with your daily activities — this is called mild cognitive impairment. Your primary care doctor can diagnose it. But sometimes it gets worse, so your doctor should follow you closely if you have mild cognitive impairment.

You want to note the timing of any impairment. Was there a gradual decline? Or did it happen all of a sudden? This too you should discuss with your doctor, who might recommend the MoCA, or Montreal Cognitive Assessment, which screens for memory problems and helps determine whether more evaluation is needed.

Also, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention lists problems in these areas as possible signs of dementia:

- Memory.
- Attention.
- Communication.
- Reasoning, judgment and problem solving.
- Visual perception beyond typical age-related changes in vision.

More severe issues

When memory loss interferes with daily activities, see your doctor about what to do and how to make sure you're safe at home.

There are numerous types of severe memory loss. Dementia tends to be a slow-moving progression that occurs over months or years. Delirium is more sudden and can occur over hours or days, usually when you have an acute illness. Depression can also cause memory changes, particularly as we get older.

Dementia, other brain issues

Alzheimer's is the most common type of dementia, followed by vascular dementia. They have similar symptoms: confusion, getting lost, forgetting close friends or family, or an inability to do calculations like balance the checkbook. Certain medical conditions — thyroid disorders, syphilis — can lead to dementia symptoms, and less common types of dementia can have different kinds of symptoms.

Alzheimer's has a distinct set of symptoms often associated with certain changes in the brain.

Focusing on safety and appropriate supervision, particularly in the home, is critical for all people with dementia. Your doctor or a social worker can help you find support.

It's also important to be aware of two other things that can lead to decreased mental functioning — delirium and depression.

Delirium, a rapid change in cognition or mental functioning, can occur in people with an acute medical illness, such as pneumonia or even covid-19 infection. Delirium can occur in patients in the hospital or at home. Risk for delirium increases with age or previous brain injuries; symptoms include decreased attention span and memory issues.

Depression can happen at any time, but it's more common with aging. How can you tell if you're depressed? Here's one simple definition: when your mood remains low and you've lost interest or joy in activities you once loved.

Sometimes people have recurring episodes of depression; sometimes, it's prolonged grieving that becomes depression. Symptoms include anxiety, hopelessness, low energy and problems with memory.

If you notice signs of depression in yourself or a loved one, see your doctor. If you have any thoughts of harming yourself, call 911 to get help instantly.

Any of these conditions can be frightening. But even more frightening is unrecognized or unacknowledged dementia. You must, openly and honestly, discuss changes you notice in your memory or thinking with your doctor. It's the first step toward figuring out what is happening and making sure your health is the best it can be.

And, as with any disease or disease group, dementia is not a "character flaw," and the term should not be used to criticize a person. Dementia is a serious medical diagnosis — ask those who have it, the loved ones who care for them or any of us who treat them.

Having dementia is challenging. Learn what you can do to support those with dementia in your own community.

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Laurie Archbald-Pannone, who specializes in geriatric medicine, is an associate professor of medicine at the University of Virginia. This article was originally published on theconversation.com.

CARTILAGE FROM EI

pany. "My right knee hurt, but I ran through the pain. But my knee would swell, and it was impacting my stride."

In January, he finally had an MRI, which showed he had torn his meniscus, a common sports injury to the cartilage that cushions the area between the shinbone and thighbone. But there was more. The scan also revealed an area under the kneecap where the cartilage had worn away, which often portends full-blown osteoarthritis — and possible knee replacement — years later. Unlike bone, which has the ability to heal, cartilage cannot restore itself once injured.

Until recently, Oates had few options, one of them to give up running entirely with the hope that his knee would not further deteriorate. He couldn't live with that. "Running is my Zen time," he says. "I couldn't take a 'you can't run again.'"

Today, however, he says he hopes to benefit from a relatively new and innovative technique that regenerates cartilage from a sample of cells taken from his knee and grown in a lab, where they are embedded on a collagen membrane. The surgeon then implants the membrane back into the knee, where new cartilage tissue forms over time.

"It's the first procedure that uses a patient's own knee cartilage cells to try to regrow cartilage that has been lost or damaged," says Seth Sherman, associate professor of orthopedic surgery at Stanford University Medical Center and chair of the Sports Medicine/Arthroscopy Committee for the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons.

Sherman points out that the approach, approved by the Food and Drug Administration in 2016, has been in use for years in other countries with "robust evidence" to support its efficacy. "That's why I like to use it," Sherman says. "It's a huge deal."

It's unclear how many of these cartilage-restoring operations have been performed in the United States since its introduction here, but experts say its use is rapidly growing.

"There are over a thousand of these procedures performed yearly in the United States," says Joseph Barker, the Raleigh orthopedic surgeon who operated on Oates. "This new technology is certainly increasing in popularity as more surgeons become aware of it and are trained in performing the procedure. The number of cases has been steadily increasing by about 25 percent a year since 2017."

The procedure is among the latest examples of regenerative



FAMILY PHOTO

Matt Oates, 41, of Raleigh, N.C., after a cartilage-restoring operation. The procedure is an example of regenerative medicine, which relies on the body's natural properties to restore function.

medicine, a budding field that relies on the body's natural properties to promote healing and restore function.

"Regenerative medicine and orthopedic surgery are starting to work together," says John Ferrell, a D.C.-area sports medicine physician who specializes in regenerative treatments. "Even though its current application is still limited, I see it ushering in a new era of the combination between the two practices, which is very exciting."

Barker extracted the cartilage cells while repairing Oates's meniscus, and implanted the membrane into Oates's knee in September.

"The beauty of this procedure — why it is so great and cutting edge — is that you can restore an area that has no cartilage left by putting in a patient's own normal cells," Barker says. "When it's all done, it's a completely normal knee."

The downside is that the treatment requires two procedures — one to remove the cells and a second to put them back — and a long, restrictive recovery period that can take as much as a year before full function returns. Initially, the patient must lie flat in bed (hooked up to a continuous passive motion machine to prevent scar tissue from forming) for as long as six weeks to allow the cells to adhere to the bone and proliferate.

"Those cells are like newborn babies in there," says Nicholas

DiNubile, a Pennsylvania orthopedic surgeon. "If you put weight on them, they won't grow."

Oates, who underwent the implant on Sept. 8, spent six weeks flat on his back in bed. He has since progressed from two crutches to one, and hopes to be using a cane before the end of the month. He's also wearing a straight leg brace for the next few months.

Full recovery — which includes a gradual return to easy daily activities, followed by moderate moves, such as walking or pool running, and then full sports functioning, such as running — takes nine to 12 months following surgery. But experts believe the alternative is worse.

When the lesions are left untreated, they become larger, often causing damage on the other side of the knee, "and that's essentially arthritis," says Barker, who also is a team physician for the Carolina Hurricanes hockey team and North Carolina State University.

The name of the procedure is a mouthful — autologous cultured chondrocytes on porcine collagen membrane — commonly called MACI.

"With it, you can hold off and maybe prevent the development of arthritis, as well as a knee replacement," Barker says. "It's a significant advancement in the prevention of arthritis."

It's not for those with full-blown osteoarthritis, since there must be normal surrounding car-

tilage remaining for the implant to heal appropriately. Also, MACI cannot correct the underlying spurs and cysts that can develop with arthritis.

"By then, it's too late to use it," DiNubile says. "You can fix those potholes early on, but you can't repave the whole road. It's a way to replace cartilage before it becomes debilitating osteoarthritis, and it's a game-changer. It's about saving knees, not replacing them."

The ideal candidates are ages 18 to 55, who are physically active and have isolated areas of cartilage loss.

"The treatments depend less on your actual age, but the age of your joints and your expectations and activity levels," Sherman says. "MACI can be used on any part of the knee joint, on any cartilage defect in the knee. It preserves the joint, restores the cartilage, allowing the patient to return to his or her sports, or other activities, pain-free."

The manufacturer of MACI is Vericeil, a company based in Cambridge, Mass., that develops cell therapies. The company cultures the cartilage cells and produces the cell-embedded membrane. To be sure, insurance policies vary, but insurance typically covers some or most of the procedure — which can be expensive — costing about \$30,000 or more, experts say.

Studies suggest it is more effective than another procedure, microfracture surgery, often used before cartilage cell regeneration came along. It involves creating small holes in the bone under the cartilage defect that stimulate the growth of fibrocartilage, a type of cartilage that resembles scar tissue. Fibrocartilage isn't as strong or durable as hyaline cartilage, the native cartilage found in the knee and the type that MACI produces, experts say.

"Former high level athletes or college athletes who do pounding sports — football players, soccer players — used to do microfracture surgery," Ferrell says. "The area would look better at first, but it wouldn't last. As soon as they started to run and jump and play on it, they would have symptoms again."

While so far limited to the knee, experts think eventually the procedure could help restore cartilage lost in other joints, for example, shoulders, ankles or hips.

"The hope is that this is just the beginning," Barker says.

Oates is upbeat, despite knowing he will be sidelined from running for most, if not all, of the coming year.

"It's a minor setback," he says. "I see the ultimate reward as bigger than the sacrifice."

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JOINT HEALTH

Cartilage for the joints can be renewed

Habitual knuckle cracking may impair your hands

KNUCKLES FROM EI

this small but lively tributary of mainstream science, as co-author of a 2018 review of knuckle-cracking studies in the journal Clinical Anatomy.

Oskouian and his three colleagues pored over 26 sometimes-contradictory papers regarding the mechanisms and effects of knuckle cracking, beginning with a 1911 German treatise titled "On the Dispute About Joint Pressure." He did so, he said, after becoming fascinated by the universal inability of his students through the years to explain what makes that cracking noise.

Modern scholars now agree that bones themselves aren't cracking, but rather that the movement creates a bubble of gas in the synovial fluid lubricating the joints. Researchers still don't know if it is the bubble's formation or subsequent pop that makes the noise, but Oskouian said the mechanics are similar to a chiropractor's "adjustment" of the spine, which also elicits a cracking sound.

Joining with several of their predecessors, Oskouian and his colleagues concluded that researchers have yet to show any reliable association between knuckle cracking and arthritis. A 2017 study of 30 knuckle crackers offered evidence that the habit even increased range of motion.

But that still doesn't give knuckle-crackers a pass — especially not if they do it a lot and for a long time, or have a preexisting problem.

"Knuckle cracking over the years will cause repetitive trauma to the joints and cartilage," Oskouian said in a telephone interview.

Studies he cited in his review suggest that long-term knuckle cracking can cause significant damage short of arthritis, stressing and ultimately degenerating cartilage. In 2017, a team of Turkish scientists who examined 35 people who cracked their knuckles more than five times a day found that while it didn't appear to affect grip strength, it was associated with a thickening of the metacarpal cartilage, a potential early sign of damage that can lead to osteoarthritis.

"Knuckle cracking over the years will cause repetitive trauma to the joints and cartilage."

Rod Oskouian, neurosurgeon

A more ambitious 1990 study of 300 participants over 45, including 74 habitual knuckle crackers, found that while, again, the crackers had no greater rates of arthritis, they were more likely to have swollen hands and, in this case at least, weaker grips.

"Habitual knuckle cracking results in functional hand impairment," concluded the two authors, based at the former Mount Carmel Mercy Hospital in Detroit. For good measure, they also noted that habitual knuckle crackers were also more likely to do manual labor, bite their nails, smoke and drink alcohol.

Orthopedists vary in how seriously they regard knuckle cracking as a health threat. Oskouian ventured that the habit is prob-

ably harmless for most people, adding that most of his patients seem to abandon the practice after a few years or so.

Yet for perhaps as much as 10 percent of the population, who suffer from a preexisting problem such as rheumatoid arthritis, an inflammatory disorder, knuckle cracking is particularly ill-advised, warned Charles Kallina, an assistant professor of surgery at the Texas A&M College of Medicine who acknowledged that he cracks his own knuckles on occasion. "I cannot in good faith recommend it as a rule," Kallina said.

Over the years, dogged researchers have exposed knuckle crackers' knuckles to grip-tests, X-rays and MRIs. In one of the more offbeat endeavors, in 2018, a Stanford chemical engineer collaborated with a researcher from the Hydrodynamics Laboratory in Palaiseau, France, to produce "A Mathematical Model for the Sounds Produced by Knuckle Cracking."

Even so, the most persistent member of this cottage industry of knuckle studiers is a Southern California retired allergist named Donald L. Unger. In 1998, Unger wrote a wry letter to the journal Arthritis & Rheumatism titled "Does knuckle cracking lead to arthritis of the fingers?"

"During the author's childhood," he began, "various renowned authorities (his mother, several aunts, and later his mother-in-law [personal communication]) informed him that cracking his knuckles would lead to arthritis of the fingers."

Rebelliously determining to test that hypothesis, Unger, for the next 50 years, cracked the knuckles of his left hand at least

twice a day — ultimately, as he calculated, "at least 36,500 times," while cracking his right-hand knuckles "rarely and spontaneously."

At the end of that half-century, he said, he compared his two hands, and on finding arthritis in neither of them, concluded "there is no apparent relationship between knuckle-cracking and the subsequent development of arthritis of the fingers."

Eleven years later, Unger's one-man research was honored with an "Ig Nobel" prize, a parody award featured at an event at Harvard University. Unger, then 83, traveled across the country to receive it, joining other winners including a team of Swiss scientists who experimented on human cadavers to find out if it would be less injurious to be hit over the head with a full beer bottle or an empty one.

In his earlier letter, Unger warned that his experiment called into question the wisdom behind other parental dictums, including the benefits of eating spinach.

Kallina, the Texas hand-surgeon, agreed — up to a point. "This may be somewhat similar to how parents tell you not to cross your eyes, or they'll stay that way," he said. In other words, as he suggested, sometimes elders intentionally hand down medical myths to try to scare their offspring into dropping an irritating habit.

Still, Kallina maintained his warning for the general public: Unless you get a doctor to confirm you have no preexisting conditions, it would be a lot safer to twiddle your thumbs.

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JOINT HEALTH

Achy knees or neck? Keep moving to manage joint pain.

JOINT PAIN FROM EI

An array of strategies are available for treating joint pain, ranging from physical therapy to pain medications, injections and surgery, but one of the most effective ways to manage joint discomfort is one that can seem counterintuitive: Keep moving.

If you're feeling pain in your joints, you might be inclined to lay off them, but that's one of the worst things you can do, says A. Lynn Millar, a physical therapist and fellow emeritus at the American College of Sports Medicine.

It's a vicious cycle — it hurts, so you stop moving the area that's painful, but "immobilization actually causes deterioration in the joints," Millar says. Hence the saying among physical therapists, "Motion is lotion." Movement brings nutrients to the joints and keeps them healthy, Millar says. "Everyone wants a magic bullet," she says, and physical activity is the closest thing we have.

Even if you've had an X-ray or MRI that shows arthritic changes in your joint, that shouldn't dissuade you from exercising. "Your structure isn't your destiny," says Greg Lehman, a Toronto-based physiotherapist, chiropractor and clinical educator in physiotherapy.

Turns out, the findings on an imaging test aren't a good indicator of pain, he says. Imagine going to a ski area and finding all the people 50 and older who were skiing around enjoying themselves. Lehman says that if you gave these skiers a scan of their knees and hips, the "vast majority of them" would have structural changes in their knee and hips without even knowing about it.

For a 2012 study, researchers took MRIs of the knees of 710 people 50 and older and found that nearly 90 percent had at least one feature of osteoarthritis on the MRI, irrespective of whether they had knee pain.

An X-ray or MRI is not a good indicator of whether someone has pain, Lehman says. "It's not that those changes you can see in a joint or tendon or muscle are irrelevant," he says, but they are not very good at predicting how someone feels or what they can do.

Joint pain is complicated, and it's not just about what's going on with your bones and ligaments, but also how your nervous system is interpreting the signals it's receiving.

Chemical mediators, such as enzymes and neuropeptides, released into the joint when someone has arthritis can sensitize the nerve endings around it to make them more active than normal. "These signals are translated by the brain as pain," McDougall says.

Researchers are just starting to characterize the different kinds of chemical mediators that might be involved in these pain signals, he says.

Even when it hurts, "putting



ISTOCK

more stress on the joint in the form of physical activity does not lead to more degeneration," Lehman says. Moving the joints can help by promoting blood flow to deliver nutrients and the circulation of synovial fluid, which can act as a lubricant for the joint.

Most people with joint pain respond well to physical therapy and an activity program, Lehman says, and studies have shown that exercise programs can reduce pain and increase physical function for people with osteoarthritis in their hips.

Low impact activities such as swimming, biking, walking or using an elliptical trainer can be gentle ways to move your joints, but even something as high impact as running can be fine for people who can tolerate it, Millar says.

A study that followed nearly 500 runners over a period of 14 years found that "there was no progressive increase in musculoskeletal pain in older adults who participated in regular vigorous exercise, including running, compared with those who did not." Arthritis does not progress any faster in people who run than in people who don't, Millar says, and people with arthritis who are regular runners report less pain and maintain function longer than people who don't run.

Strength training can also help by building up the muscles around the joint so they're better able to deal with the force coming through the joints. You don't have to lift heavy weights to reap benefits, Millar says. Even doing some simple leg lifts or bending and straightening your legs can yield benefits for your knees and hips, for instance.

If you're carrying extra weight, losing even as little as a single pound can make a noticeable difference.

Research has show that one pound of weight on the body equates to four pounds of weight across your knee, says Antonia Chen, an orthopedic surgeon at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston. "I tell my patients to celebrate losing one pound. Even one pound is four pounds off your joint and it will make you feel better."

Obesity is a well-known risk factor for joint pain, and it's not just the added stress on joints that comes with the extra weight. Researchers are starting to see that obesity can be associated with changes in metabolism and the microbiome that may be related to chronic pain, McDougall says.

"Bugs in our stomachs talk to the nerves in our bodies," McDougall says. And research suggests being overweight may also increase inflammatory markers in the blood that could make joint inflammation worse, Millar says.

Drug options

Nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs such as ibuprofen and naproxen are the go-to medications for managing arthritic pain, but they're no panacea.

"Most of the time, they work for a little bit, and then they stop working," says Ali Guermazi, a professor of radiology and medicine at Boston University School of Medicine. They also have side effects such as internal bleeding, especially when taken long-term, Guermazi says. For people who cannot take NSAIDs because of side effects, acetaminophen (Ty-

lenol) can also be an option. In severe cases, opioids may be used short term, but they aren't a great option and should be carefully managed because of addiction risk, Guermazi says.

When pain meds aren't helping, corticosteroid injections to the joint are sometimes used, but they're not without risks. Although they can offer relief for many patients, they can also damage the cartilage in the joint, Chen says. Guermazi's research has found that a small subset of patients who receive corticosteroid injections for joint pain experience rapid bone degeneration in the joint. "People are taking steroids thinking it's a good treatment," Guermazi says, "but there is no study that I can think of that is showing a long-term pain relief from steroids. It's all temporary."

A pain management specialist might be needed for severe cases where the pain isn't responding to any of these other treatments, Chen says. Options include numbing agents to block the nerve or nerve ablation, a treatment that uses heat or cold to destroy nerve tissue that's involved in the pain.

With cannabis being legalized in many parts of the country, cannabinoids (compounds derived from the cannabis plant) are becoming another option for treating pain. McDougall's group has studied the use of cannabinoids for controlling joint pain. "We have found that they can be highly effective and relatively safe and well-tolerated by patients," he says.

The nonintoxicating cannabis derivative called cannabidiol, or CBD, is one type to try for those

"Immobilization actually causes deterioration in the joints."

A. Lynn Millar, physical therapist

with joint pain, McDougall says. "CBD won't make you high. It might make some people feel a little sleepy," he says, adding that drowsiness might be a good thing for people who aren't sleeping well because of pain.

Tetrahydrocannabinol, or THC, the cannabinoid responsible for marijuana's famous high, also has anti-inflammatory properties, studies have found. Whether that's an option depends on legality in your state, and some patients will tolerate THC and the "high" it can produce better than others, McDougall says. "It's a personal preference. The patient should be driving what feels good for them."

When all else fails, joint replacement surgery is a final option.

"The recommendation is that you should try to put it off as long as possible," McDougall says. Although a joint replacement can be life-changing in a good way for some patients, it's not a magical cure. A small 2005 study involved in-depth interviews with 25 people who had undergone total knee replacements and found that most of them reported a "good" outcome, but "further discussion revealed concern and discomfort with continuing pain and mobility difficulties," the authors wrote.

Chen says that it's important to have realistic expectations for the surgery: "It's not like you get the joint replacement and you're up and jumping around. It can take up to one full year to recover."

Chen specifically doesn't recommend to her patients several popular treatments. One is a kind of injection, called "gel shots," or viscosupplementation, where a gel-like fluid is injected into the joint to increase cushioning. Chen says that this treatment has "demonstrated minimal benefits" and the injections are not supported by the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons (AAOS).

Glucosamine and chondroitin sulfate supplements are another popular joint pain treatment she tells her patients to skip. The evidence that they help is so slim, she says, that in 2013 the AAOS put out a statement that said, "don't use glucosamine and chondroitin to treat patients with symptomatic osteoarthritis of the knee." The supplements "do not provide relief for patients."

There's no way around it — exercise remains the bedrock for joint health. "If your knees are sore, it doesn't always mean you should stop what you're doing," Lehman says.

Doing the activities you love can be therapeutic, not just mechanically and biologically for the joint, he says, but because you're moving again and that can be emotionally and psychologically healing, too.

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Christie Aschwanden is author of "Good to Go: What the Athlete in All of Us Can Learn From the Strange Science of Recovery."

The right exercises can help to avoid repeated sprains on the same ankle

ANKLE SPRAIN FROM EI

nose with your eyes closed, or walk in a straight line without looking down.

Proprioceptors are sensory neurons found in muscles, tendons and joints that instantly shift the body in an unconscious, instant course correction that keeps it centered. It develops over time, which is why toddlers learning to walk still often look at their feet, and ebbs as you age, one reason the elderly are susceptible to falls.

"It's your body's internal GPS system," says Nicholas DiNubile, a Havertown, Pa., orthopedic surgeon and doctor for the Pennsylvania Ballet. "Every joint has proprioceptors, which are networks of neurons. These are position sensors. If you start to tilt, they help you self-correct when you veer off."

Proprioception has an especially important role in weight-bearing joints, such as the ankle. When you sprain an ankle, proprioceptors become damaged. This impairs the body's ability to right itself, and makes it more likely you will sprain that same ankle again. What physicians often call a "floppy" or loose ankle — which results from the initial sprain — actually is a slowdown in the feedback loop between the nerves and the brain. The brain cannot react quickly enough to keep that ankle from turning again.

If it's a moderate or severe

sprain, "the ligament is loose for life," unless you do exercises to retrain these key nerves, DiNubile says.

Before you start doing them, however, you need to first treat the sprain. "I have always believed that ankle sprains are the most undertreated injury seen in

"I have always believed that ankle sprains are the most undertreated injury seen in the emergency room."

Sheldon Laps, podiatrist

the emergency room," says Sheldon Laps, a D.C. podiatrist. "X-rays are usually taken, and if they are negative, patients are usually sent home with crutches and advised to ice the area and stay off it until they are able to walk on the foot."

He and other experts still recommend the old sports acronym RICE: rest, ice, compression and elevation. They advise that you put ice on it — the sooner the better — to reduce swelling (I once sprained an ankle while out running during the winter, and stuck my foot in a nearby snow bank for a few minutes before hobbling home. I'm convinced it shortened my recovery time.) Ice

it for 15 to 30 minutes, then take a 15 to 30 minute break, and ice it again. Do this as often as you can the first day. Don't use heat, which worsens the swelling.

Some experts in recent years have disparaged the RICE formula, ice in particular, saying research suggests it delays healing and may make things worse. But many still believe it can be a big help immediately after an injury occurs.

"Swelling after acute injury, such as an ankle sprain, is the body's response to protect the injured area and limit more damage by preventing movement or motion," Laps says. "Ice causes vasoconstriction, which narrows the blood vessels and reduces further swelling. I recommend ice for acute injuries [and] for swelling with chronic injuries. I don't believe that ice hampers or reduces the inflammatory process or delays healing when used immediately post injury. My feeling is based on treating athletes for over 35 years."

DiNubile agrees that ice is valuable in the hours immediately following an injury to reduce swelling and pain. But he suggests skipping ice after several days in favor of the remainder of the formula — elevation, compression, rest and/or gentle movement.

"We don't necessarily believe anymore that extended use of ice is necessary, except after the initial injury, and could be counterproductive," he says.

Wrap your foot with an elastic



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Once you've sprained an ankle, you are inclined to sprain it again.

bandage and elevate it — keep it higher than your head, if possible, but definitely above your heart. This keeps blood from pooling in the ankle, which also will increase swelling. (If it is still swollen and painful after a couple of days, consider having an X-ray to rule out a fracture.)

Laps tells his patients to avoid exercise until they can walk briskly and pain-free on the ankle. He also suggests wrapping the ankle before exercising, and stretching before and after. After exercise, ice the ankle for five minutes if it still tends to swell after a workout. Runners especially should keep their mileage and intensity low when they start back, and run alternate days on a flat surface,

such as an outdoor track, before resuming hard training or serious competition, he says.

"I see quite a few injuries in runners from repetitive stress of running or working out every day," Laps says.

Once healed, it's time to work on that proprioception. Some of the most effective exercises include sitting with your legs crossed with a resistance band around the injured foot. Bend your foot up and outward, that is, in the direction away from the big toe. Do three sets of 15 repetitions — as it gets easier, increase the strength or the band and the number of repetitions.

Also, try balancing on the leg with the injured ankle. Stand on

the bad leg only, and try to balance on it for a minute. If that's easy, do it with your eyes closed. If that's also easy, stand on a pillow, which is a mushier surface that makes it more challenging. If that's easy, too, try it with your eyes closed.

DiNubile also recommends the yoga "tree" pose. "With your eyes closed, stand up with your arms straight out to the side and put the heel of one foot to the inner side of the knee so it looks like a letter P," he explains. "On the good leg, they might be able to do it, hold it and have no problem. On the bad side, they'll be wobbling all over the place, ready to go over. If they can't do it with their eyes open, I have them look in a mirror. Then, I have them do it without a mirror, then with their eyes closed."

Finally, experts suggest performing agility drills. These involve such maneuvers as side-to-side shuffling, backward walking or running, figure-eight running, and cone drills that involve running in a "box" shape or around cones. Start with wide loops and progress to tighter loops as the ankle gets stronger.

If you are diligent about strengthening that ankle after the first sprain, you reduce your chances of having another, DiNubile says.

"An injury like an ankle sprain can really compromise your proprioception," DiNubile says. "But the good thing is that it can come back."

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A farm connects special-needs kids and injured animals

BY SYDNEY PAGE

Harper Wulms was 2 the first time she met Priscilla — a turkey with a rare condition that’s similar to the one she has.

Harper, now 5, was born with symbrachydactyly, a congenital hand abnormality. Harper’s right hand is disproportionately small and is missing one finger. Her parents call it her “lucky hand.”

Harper and her mother were visiting an animal sanctuary near Austin, where they live, when they met Priscilla, a rescued turkey that happened to be born with a “lucky claw.”

The toddler tottered over to the turkey, her mother recalled, and the moment Harper understood the similarity between them, she smiled.

“It was such a coincidence,” said Celine Wulms, Harper’s mother. “Meeting Priscilla has been a gift.”

The bond between Harper and Priscilla perfectly captures the reason Jamie Wallace-Griner started her animal sanctuary, Safe in Austin.

“There is something absolutely magical about watching a child with differences come out here and say, ‘They’re just like me.’”

Jamie Wallace-Griner, founder of Safe in Austin

“There is something absolutely magical about watching a child with differences come out here and say, ‘They’re just like me,’” Wallace-Griner, 40, said. “When you see Harper holding Priscilla’s lucky hand with her own lucky hand, it just does so much for her heart.”

Priscilla is one of more than 150 animals with a background of abuse, neglect or special needs that Wallace-Griner has rescued and cared for at her sanctuary in Leander, a suburb just north of Austin.

Beyond saving animals that, in most cases, would otherwise be euthanized, Safe in Austin also serves as a haven for people and animals with disabilities, special needs, mental health challenges and traumatic past experiences.

All species are welcome at the sanctuary, regardless of the condition that Wallace-Griner finds them in: “We have animals that are blind or deaf, have diabetes, cerebral palsy, deformities, missing limbs, broken spines . . . they all become part of our family.”

She was inspired to open an animal sanctuary upon witnessing the immense impact a service dog named Angel had on her autistic son, Jackson. Angel was 6 when they got her in 2012.

“Angel gave my son confidence and strength beyond anything I was capable of doing as his mother,” she said. “We saw a dramatic difference within weeks.”

Angel, who died two years ago, was a big, fluffy Great Pyrenees who was specifically trained to temper and protect Jackson.

“The security of having an animal that understood him and what he was going through changed everything,” Wallace-Griner said.

Her son’s relationship with Angel propelled Wallace-Griner to create a safe space for people and animals to form bonds and love one another without any judgment.

In 2014, she and her husband, David Griner, a lawyer, bought an overgrown, unkempt 10-acre ranch, with the intention of moving their family of five there and creating a home for neglected animals.

Wallace-Griner said they now have “20 dogs, 14 cats, eight horses, 32 goats, four rabbits, three tortoises, one parrot, four turkeys, lots of chickens, 18 pigs and four cows.”

Every one of them has a name. “Except some of the chickens are doubled up because they look the exact same,” she said. “We have eight chickens named Ashley.”

There’s also a 250-pound potbellied pig named Peter; a family of goats named Sapphire, Curly and Ruby; plus a tortoise called Rex.

Initially, friends of friends with special needs children would request to visit the sanctuary. As word got out, more people asked to come, and bonds continued to form between visitors and animals.

“It just kept getting bigger and bigger and I realized that it was time to open up in a way that would help more people and more animals,” Wallace-Griner said.

For several years, the cost of rescuing and caring for the animals rested exclusively on the Griners. But as veterinary bills, medication, food and the cost of other supplies mounted, the couple decided to officially make Safe in Austin a nonprofit organization in 2018 to accept donations. While the suggested donation amount is \$25 per family, visitors may enter free.

Just as they welcome all animals, all people are welcome, too: “We don’t care about the choices you made in the past, what you look like, who you love or what you eat. We concentrate on no judgment at all,” Wallace-Griner said.

Gracelyn Woods, a 9-year-old girl who moved to Austin in June with her family, was struggling with the transition and the coronavirus pandemic, her mother said.

“The ranch has helped our little one embrace change,” said Jess Woods, Gracelyn’s mother, adding that they visit weekly. “We kept coming back and our daughter started coming out of her shell. Life just sparked back into her.”

Before the pandemic, Safe in Austin would host “public days” on weekends, in which groups could come walk through the sanctuary, guided by volunteers — many of whom were once visitors, including Harper and Celine Wulms, who now volunteer week-



PHOTOS BY SAFE IN AUSTIN



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Several animals at pet sanctuary Safe in Austin depend on wheelchairs to get around. Harper Wulms, 5, and Jay Salazar, 4, visit with Priscilla the turkey. Jamie Wallace-Griner, left, with Ace, 4, who has cerebral palsy, and Mikey the piglet. Wallace-Griner’s son, Jackson, then 6, with his service dog, Angel.

ly. To accommodate pandemic restrictions, the sanctuary has shifted to private family tours and what they call “healing hearts” tours only.

“If anybody emails that is having a hard time for any reason, we invite them out for a healing hearts tour. I ask them for a little background as to what they’re dealing with, and I decide which animals to introduce them to,” Wallace-Griner said.

“Covid is hard on everyone,

neurotypical or not, but for special-needs kids it heightens every aspect of what is different about them,” she added. “A lot of people really needed us during the pandemic.”

Skylar Carson, 28, volunteers five days a week at the sanctuary, and she first came as a visitor in need of support.

“I have a background of childhood trauma,” she said, adding that the sanctuary has played a pivotal role in helping her heal.

For Carson, what makes Safe in Austin a second home for her is “the unconditional love, the grace and the freedom to make a difference no matter what your story is — whether you’re a kid or an adult or an animal.”

While she feels bonded to all the animals at the sanctuary, there is one recent addition that Carson is particularly fond of: a calf named Ruby Sue.

Wallace-Griner rescued Ruby Sue from a beef cattle ranch in South Texas. She was born with a genetic defect known as Curly Calf syndrome, which usually results in calves being stillborn.

“From the hips up, she is a healthy, loving calf,” said Wallace-Griner, explaining that her spine and hind legs are fused together, preventing her from walking.

“When she got home, I fed her the first bottle,” said Carson. “I have a shirt that says, ‘a cow is my best friend’ and we made her a bandanna that says, ‘a human is my best friend.’”

When Wallace-Griner posted photos and videos of Ruby Sue to Safe in Austin’s social media pages, a pet supply company specializing in manufacturing equipment for disabled pets reached out and offered her a custom wheelchair.

“We knew we wanted to help her live longer,” said Mikayla Feehan, social media coordinator at Walkin’ Pets.

On Sept. 19, Ruby Sue took her first steps, with the help of her new wheels.

The company has also donated several wheelchairs to animals at the sanctuary in the past.

“We have four dogs with broken spines or paralysis that use wheelchairs to get around, and they donated all of those chairs to us,” Wallace-Griner said.

This week, a rescued dog named Halo received a prosthetic leg. She, too, took her first steps.

“She actually ran,” Wallace-Griner said.

She revels in moments like these, but above all, her favorite part of the farm is helping animals give hope and confidence to those who need it.

“This is a place for anyone who’s heart is in need of some unconditional love and friendship,” Wallace-Griner said.

More at [washingtonpost.com/inspired-life](https://www.washingtonpost.com/inspired-life)

ASK DR. ANDREA

How do I tell my friends I need a break from talking about politics?

Dear Dr. Andrea: I am 34 years old, married and the mom of a toddler. Like pretty much everyone I know, I feel pretty stuck in a cycle of negativity about the world lately. I have a lot of anger and fear about what is happening in our country, and it can feel all-consuming at times. I have a good group of friends, and we talk when we can, which is not nearly as much as we’d like, given what we have going on with kids and jobs. I love these friends dearly, and they are an important part of my life.

The problem is, almost every single time we talk for the past few months, we just start talking about how stressful things are. We vent about the administration and worry about the upcoming election. The next thing I know, that’s all we get to do and I end up more drained than before.

I miss being with these women in a real, true way. It is hard enough that we don’t really get to hang out anymore, but when we do talk online or by phone, I feel like we are squandering all our

time raging about someone I hate. And I end up feeling even lonelier. But I also don’t want to not talk about that, because it is on my mind all the time.

I’m so frustrated with the situation, but I also don’t know how avoid talking about this stuff and it would feel so strange to pretend like it’s not happening.

— *Stuck in the vortex*

Stuck in the vortex: I’ve been seeing this a lot. It’s like the social media doomscrolling so many of us can’t stop engaging in. It ups our anxiety and makes us feel worse, but the idea of not doing it — leaving that itch unscratched, wondering if the unknowns of this dystopian situation would be even more horrifying than whatever we’ll actually find — can be even harder to bear. So we scratch and scratch until it hurts.

But since this is such a common challenge, it’s likely that your friends are experiencing it, too. And what’s great about close friendship is that you can communicate

honestly and vulnerably and make room for each other’s feelings and preferences, prioritizing supporting each other in the ways that you need. Right now, you need a break from the doom, period. And you need a dose of connection with them that’s not tied to headlines or current events.

So think of this as a potential group project: repurposing some of your all-too-precious time together into something more nurturing. Before you talk next, float the idea of needing a break from the news, even just for part of the time. Aim for flexibility (no gag orders) and focus on what you do want, not what you don’t, making sure this feels agreeable to everyone. Maybe you all decide you’ll spend 15 minutes on the latest “Can you believe it?” political developments, but then 45 minutes on your hopes for the future/making each other laugh/sharing your best self-care tips/ the nuances of your latest Netflix obsession. Or maybe you’ll choose to each just start with something personally newsworthy other than the

headlines. Or perhaps share a new theme for the entire conversation: bright spots you’re grateful for, family or professional developments, or drama unrelated to the White House.

If the group makes these plans but then slips back into politicking, then it may just be that the pressures of these times are

felt too deeply for your friends to withstand them. Realistically, they may be stressed enough about everything that it’s just too difficult for them to change course, and so there’s a mismatch in needs right now. If that’s the case, see if you can get more one-on-one time with individuals in the group who could use the break like you can, and be

stricter about ground rules.

And finally, this all underscores how important it is for you to commit to taking care of yourself during this time, too. Social support is one of the most crucial pillars of emotional well-being, but we’re in a rather tough time for it, not just because it’s hard to gather like we used to, but because the vast majority of people are probably more stressed than usual.

This can make the usual reciprocity of caregiving among friends pretty out of whack. So try to help them give you what you need, but if they can’t, remember that sleep, movement, outdoor time, creative pursuits and mindful pauses can all help you feel better as well.

Ask Dr. Andrea is a question-and-answer series from The Lily, a publication of The Washington Post, with licensed clinical psychologist and Georgetown University adjunct professor Andrea Bonior. To read more of her columns about relationships, mental health, work-life balance, family dynamics and other issues go to thelily.com/tag/advice/



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